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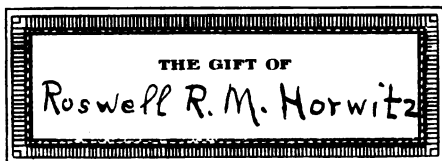
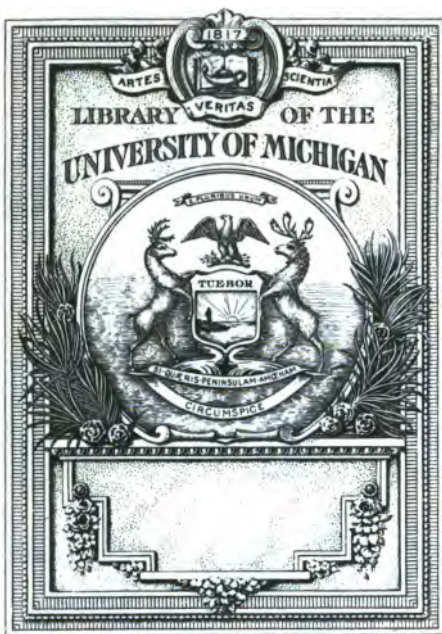
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LETTERS
TO THE
KING,
THE
Prince of ORANGE,
THE
Chief Ministers of State,
AND OTHER
PERSONS.

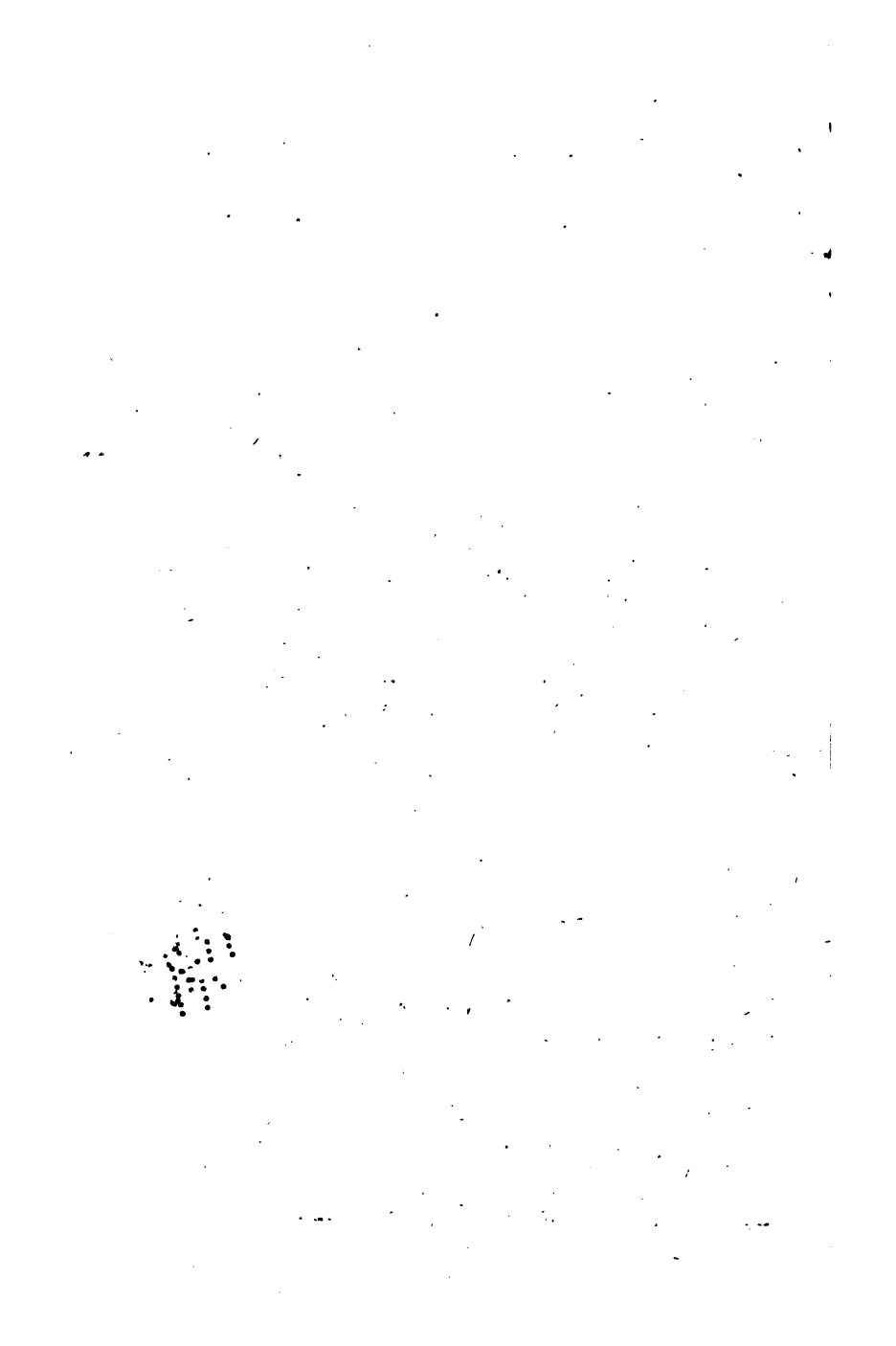
By Sir W. TEMPLE, *Bar^t.*

Being the Third and Last Volume.

Published by Jonathan Swift, D. D.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Tim. Goodwin*, at the *Queen's-Head* against *St. Dunstan's Church*; and
Benj. Tooke, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in
Fleetstreet. 1703.



Roswell R. M. Howitz

7t.

6-17-1926
(1 vol. only)

THE PREFACE:

THE following Papers
are the last of this, or
indeed of any kind; a-
bout which the Author ever gave
me his particular Commands.
They were Corrected by Him-
self; and fairly Transcribed in
his Life time. I have in all
Things followed his Directions
as strictly as I could: But Acci-
dents unforeseen having since in-
tervened; I have thought conve-
nient to lessen the Bulk of this
Volume. To which End I
A 2 have

The P R E F A C E.

*have Omitted several L E T-
T E R S Addressed to Persons
with whom this Author Corre-
sponded without any particular
Confidence, farther than upon ac-
count of their Posts : Because
great Numbers of such L E T-
T E R S, procured out of the
Office ; or, by other means (how
justifiable I shall not examine)
have been already Printed : But
running wholly upon long dry Sub-
jects of Business, have met no
other Reputation than meerly
what the Reputation of the Au-
thor would give them. If I
could have foreseen an End of
this Trade, I should upon some
Considerations have longer forbore
sending these into the World.*
But

THE PREFACE.

But I daily hear, that new Discoveries of Original LETTERS are hasting to the Press: To stop the Current of which, I am forced to an earlier Publication than I designed. And therefore I take this Occasion to inform the Reader; that these Letters ending with the Author's Revocation from his Employments abroad (which in less than two Years was followed by his Retirement from all publick Business) are the last he ever intended for the Press; having been Selected by himself from great Numbers yet lying among his Papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the Rhetorick of Booksellers, or any other

THE PREFACE.

little Regards ; I might easily, instead of Retrenching, have made very considerable Additions ; and by that means have perhaps taken the surest Course to prevent the Interloping of others. But, if the Press must needs be loaded ; I had rather it should not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one Word in the Style of a Publisher, (an Office lyable to much Censure, without the least Pretension to Merit or to Praise) that, if I have not been much deceived by others and myself ; the Reader will hardly find
one

The P R E F A C E

*one Letter in this Collection
on unworthy of the Author,
or which does not contain
something either of Entertain-
ment or of Use.*

To

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY

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TO THE
PRINCE of ORANGE.

Shewn, Febr. ——— 1674

S I R,

THough the Honour I expected of attending Your Highness, upon so great and so happy a Conjunction; has not befallen me; and His Majesty's late Resolutions, for my sudden Journey into *Holland*, have been diverted, by Occasions, that made way for a more speedy conclusion of the Peace: Yet I could not be satisfy'd, without making use of Sir *Gabriel Silvius*'s favour to me, in charging himself with this Trouble; by which, I might, at the same time, give Your Highness the particular Account of all that has pass'd, in this late Transaction here; and withal rejoice with you, upon the happy Successes; that have attended your Affairs, on the other side: In which, I will assure Your Highness, both His Majesty, and all His Good Subjects, have taken such a share, as has very much contributed, to the

the easy and suddain Dispatch of this great Affair; wherein, both your Highness and the States, and indeed the Happiness and Safety of both Nations, are so nearly concern'd. For my own part, I will only say, That as no Man gave so Publick and so avowed Testimonies of the Devotion and Honour, I have always had at Heart, for Your Highness's Person and Service; and of the Esteem that I knew was from all Men due to You, in the greatest Decline of Your Fortune: So, at this time, when Your Highness will receive the general Compliments and Applauses of all Men; there is none among them, that can take a more particular Part in Your Highness's good Fortunes, nor make more passionate Wishes for their Continuance and Increase. But I know Your Highness does me so much Justice, as to believe all that can be said from me of this kind, unnecessary. Therefore I shall proceed to tell Your Highness, that upon receipt of the States last Letter, with desire of Passports for their Ambassadors, and Offers of a Cessation of Arms: His Majesty was pleas'd, upon the 3d Current, being *Tuesday* Morning, to declare at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, that having thought of it in the Night, He was resolved, for preventing all Delays, that at-

tend

tend the coming of Ambassadors hither, to send over into *Holland*; and that He would send me with the Project of a Treaty, and full Powers to conclude immediately, if the States were in the Mind they exprest of doing Him Justice. This was receiv'd with so great a Concurrence, that I was immediately sent for, acquainted with His Majesty's Intentions, and commanded to be ready to begin my Journey the next Day, and to attend upon the two Secretaries of State, that Afternoon, at the drawing both the Project, and my Instructions. I told the King, I would obey Him; but that I might the better do it, I begged of Him, that I might go without any Character of Ambassador; which would delay me, with the Preparations of Equipage here; and embarras me with Ceremonies there, unnecessary to so sudden a Dispatch. His Majesty thought it reasonable; and so gave order, I should go without any other Character, than of Plenipotentiary; but gave me the Appointment of all kinds of an Ambassador, which He told me, I must take upon me, when the Peace was concluded.

The Project and Instructions, could not be finished till *Wednesday* at Evening, nor the Commission sealed till *Thursday* at

Noon, which was designed for my setting out; and in order to it, I had kiss'd the King's and Duke's Hands, late on *Wednesday* Night, and received their Letters to Your Highness, and sent away my Servants toward *Harwich*, on *Thursday* Morning. But about Ten a Clock, the same Day, arrived the Pacquet, by a Trumpeter from *Holland*, which brought full Powers to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to treat and conclude the Peace: Upon the knowledge whereof, I went immediately to the King, and told him how inconvenient it would be, to expose the Treaty to the Accidents of a Journey, of Seas, and of Weather, when it might be finish'd here, perhaps before I could be at *Harwich*. Besides, that it would be more Honour for His Majesty, to treat it here, than at the *Hague*, which was an Expedient only for dispatch, and therefore begg'd of his Majesty, that no consideration of me might divert him from falling into the Business here, at least, till he saw it could not be effected. The King was pleased with what I said, sent me immediately to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to bring an Account of his Powers, and has done me the honour, to make me treat the whole Thing with his Excellency

in all its Points, so as to leave Occasion only for the Commissioners to meet once on *Saturday*, to agree upon drawing up the Treaty; and yesterday again at Four a Clock for signing it. But after all this was agreed, and before that Hour was come, I was forced by an Accident in Town, to come down into the Country for Two or Three Days, and so have the Mortification of not seeing Sir *Gabriel Silvius*, before his going away with the Ratifications, which I left the King resolved he should do this Night.

It is not fit to entertain your Highness farther from the Countrey; but I hope, upon my Return to Town, to have his Majesty's Leave to send Your Highness, by next Post, the Letters, he was pleased to encharge me with; as likewise that from the Duke, with very particular Expressions from them both; which I suppose, you will not be willing to lose, though you may receive of a later Date; In the mean time, I beg your Highness to believe, that upon all Occasions, I shall be infinitely proud and pleased, to give you the best

Testimonies, of the sincerest and devoutest Passion, wherewith I have been so long, and shall ever be

S I R,

Your Highness's Sec.

To Sir John Temple.

London, Febr. 17. 1673.

S I R,

I did not think, a fortnight ago, that you would hear from me, at this time, from this Place, having been unexpectedly designed another Way, which you have had some Account of from my Sister: But 'tis fit you receive a more particular one from me, upon an Occasion, which I know you will not be displeased with, both as to what concerns the Publick, and my Self. You will easily imagine the Necessities, that prevailed with the King and his Ministers, to fall into the Councils of making a sudden Peace with *Holland*. So soon, as this Resolution was taken privately among them, my Lord *Arlington* sent for me, and told me of it, and

and that, at the same time, the King and my Lord Treasurer, both together, at the Foreign Committee (so as He could not say, which of them named me first) proposed my being sent over, upon this Occasion; and the King added, that there was no Man else, to be thought of; and so had commanded him, to send for me, and acquaint me with it. I told him, I should obey His Majesty, as became me, and much the rather, upon a Point by which I thought he fell into His true Interest, wherein my Opinions were but too well known. After this, I went to the King, and said the same Things; and what else I esteemed proper, upon that Occasion; and that I would serve Him, as well as I could, though I doubted I was grown a little rusty, by lying still so long; and begun to shrink at a hard Journey, in such a cruel Season, after having given my self, all the Ease I could, for three Years at home. The King Smiled, and said, He would answer for me. I told Him, That would give me Confidence; but there was another Point, I desired to govern my self; which was, that my Lord *Arlington* having told me I was to go Ambassador, I had no mind to charge my self with that Character, upon so sudden a Journey, and an Affair, that

bought to be sudden too. That the greatest piece of Service I had ever done Him; in all my Employments abroad, which was that of the Tripple Alliance, I had treated and concluded in five Days, and with the Character of Envoy; and I was confident, I could never have done it, if I had been Ambassador; That the Ceremonies of it hindred the Business where it press'd. That having been twice Ambassador, I needed not to value my self upon this Occasion, especially in *Holland*, where I was well enough known: And therefore, I desired I might go with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, and for this particular Affair only of the *Peace*. That when this was made, His Majesty might send what Person, and what Character He pleased over, to reside there, and go on with the Measures He should have taken.

The King; seemed very much to approve what I said; and told me, that of Ambassador was only thought of, because I had been Ambassador before; and they thought I would not be content, to go without it; but He saw, I was a wiser Man, and I should not lose by it; for though I went without the Character, yet I should have the Pay of an Ambassador; and if I should stay in *Holland*, after the
Peace

J^r John Hawdon

Peace was made, I should then have the Character. Hereupon, in two Days time, my Instructions were drawn up, my small Equipage prepared, and my Servants sent before to *Harwich*, where I intended to follow, Post, the day after: But I would not suffer either my Wife or Sister to engage in so hasty a Journey, and at so ill a time of Year; though they were neither of them willing to let me go away alone, out of care of my Health, which I promised to take my self, and deserve their good Opinion in it.

The very day, I was to go, came in an *Express* from *Holland*, with full Powers from the *States*, to the Marquis of *Fresno* (the *Spanish* Ambassador here) to treat and conclude the Peace. My Lord *Arlington* immediately acquainted me with it, and desired, I would go to the King, who was then at the House of *Lords*, and tell Him, this new Incident, and know His Pleasure upon it; his Lordship seeming a little in Pain at my Part in it. But I told him, I thought the Business had this way a better Turn than they themselves had given it: That it would not only be dispatch'd here with less Time, but with more Honor to His Majesty than at the *Hague*: That for my Part, I was so far from being disappointed, that I was very glad

glad of it; that I confess'd I wish'd the thing, but so it were done, was not fond of having any part in it, and therefore was of Opinion, they should presently fall in Treaty with the Marquiss, and so I would go and tell the King.

I will not tell you how pleased my Lord *Arlington* was with this Answer, nor how obliging Things he said to me upon it; but I was sorry he knew me so ill, as not to expect it, the thing being so right: I went to the King, said the same to him, which found the same Reception; and he told me, though I did not treat it at the *Hague*, yet he was sure I should treat it here; and accordingly he sent for the Marquiss that Afternoon, and told him, he would send me to him that Evening, to fall into the Treaty; and that if he could agree with me, he should reckon upon the thing done.

I had my Orders, went to the Marquiss, and we concluded all Points in three Days, though there was one of some Difficulty: The Instruments were dispatch'd with the same Diligence, and signed by the Marquiss and the King's Commissioners. And so that great Affair ended, to the infinite Satisfaction of all People here, as I doubt not, it will be in *Spain* and *Holland*, and give a great Turn, to the Conjunctions abroad.

Some

Some Days after this Conclusion, my Lord *Arlington* told me, the King thought fit to recal Sir *William Godolphin* out of *Spain*, upon several Considerations, but chiefly upon Reports, that had run of his Religion, which would not be very pleasing in the Parliament, with whom the King was resolved to live well; and therefore had ordered him to make me the Offer of going into *Spain*. That having been Ambassador in Ordinary so long ago, the King thought it was but Reason I should make some Advance, and so would have me go Ambassador Extraordinary, which, to that Crown, was the Employment of most Dignity, and most Advantage of any other abroad.

I desired his Lordship to make his Majesty my most humble Acknowledgments, for so many and such unfought for Honours, which were beyond what I could deserve: But that the Thing was new; and that I had learnt, by a *Spanish* Proverb, not to make a suddain Answer to a suddain Question. That besides, the Journey was long, and You formerly had an Aversion to my undertaking it; that I could not do it now, without first consulting You, whom I would not disobey. That I therefore desired his Lordship to excuse my answering the King till I had written, and had an Answer from You, This

This is all I have to say, but that I leave it with you, to consult if you please, with my Brother, and send me your Resolution as soon as you can. I find my Wife inclined to it, both upon Respects of Advantages to my Fortune, and my Health, which she thinks suffered much in *Holland*. My Sister, though the better *Spaniard*, has no great mind to it. For my own part, I am pretty indifferent; I like the Climate; but you know I never cared for a Remove, being ever apt to like the Place and Condition I am in; and if I have a mind to mend it, I believe I cannot want Occasions, upon this great Revolution, and the Return of our Councils to the Point, where I left them, three or four Years ago.

I shall give you no farther Trouble at this Time, but expect your Answer, and remain ever,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

To

To the Prince of *Orange*.

London, Febr. 28. 1673.

S I R,

I Thought, Your Highness would not be displeased, with receiving those Marks of Kindness, from His Majesty and the Duke which they intended You by me, though You have, I know, receiv'd others, of a fresher Date. Therefore, by Leave from them both, I send You inclosed the Letters I had the Honor to be charged with, when I kist their Hands upon my intended Journy into *Holland*. The Compliments I was commanded to carry Your Highness from their Mouths (besides what went from their Hands) were, I will assure You, very particular. Especially those from His Majesty; to tell You how great an Inducement to the Peace, Your Highness's Advancement to the hereditary Dignity, had been and with how much more Confidence, He could now fall into good Measures with *Holland*, than before. And those from the Duke, when at the End of a great deal spoken, very kindly, He bid me assure You, that He lookt upon Your High-

Highness's Interests, as the same with the King's and His own; and that if there were any Thing, wherein You could use His Service, You might be sure of it. I replied, Pray Sr. remember, there is nothing You except, and You do not know, how far a young Prince's Desire may go; but I am resolved to tell Him what You say, and if there be Occasion, to be a Witness of it: The Duke smiled; Well, well, You may tell Him what I bid You: Upon which I said; At least I will tell the Prince, that You smiled when I told You so, which I am sure, is a great deal better, than if You had frowned. I know your Highness, will easily pardon me, for entertaining you with these Circumstances; but I will say no more of this kind, unless you give me Encouragement; nor of any other, to encrease your Trouble, at this Time; unless it be, that if in any Thing, either small or great, Your Highness can find my Services useful to you here; you will ever find them at your Devotion, in a manner very particular, and that no Man alive, can be with more Passion or more Truth.

S I R,

*Your Highness's most obedient,
and most humble Servant.*

To

To Sir John Temple.

London, March 27. 1674.

S I R,

UPON your expression of so much dislike to my Journey into *Spain*; I acquainted the King with it; and gave That, for the only reason, of my excusing my self from it. I made His Majesty, at the same time, the greatest Acknowledgments I could, for the Honor he had done me, by the Offer of it; and assured him, how glad I should be, to deserve so good an Opinion, as He had pleased to express in thinking me worthy of an Employment, which, for my own Part, I esteemed one of the best he had to give. The King was pleased to reply very graciously, that He thought so too, but yet He intended me a better; That he had been long engaged in the Remove at present designed, but that upon the next, he was resolved, I should have it. He was pleased to say no more, but walked away; and I seemed to take no Notice of what he meant. But the day after, I told all that had past to my Lord *Arlington*: He seemed a good deal surpris'd, at my refusing

sing the *Spanish* Ambassy, and said, He believed the King had few Subjects that would not be glad of it: That he had so little expected it, that he had told the Marquiss of *Fresno* of the King's Resolution in it: That for his own part, unless I was sure of his Secretary's Place, he should not yet advise me to refuse the other.

This was said, with a Face, and in a Way, something graver than his had been of late towards me, and I confess, surprized me more, than he pretended, I had done him. I told him, that I did not at all know what he meant, by saying; If I were not sure of his Secretary's Place; That it was a Thing I never had once in my Thoughts, but when he had put it there, a great while ago, upon the Resolution of Sir *John Trevor*'s coming into the other: That my Circumstances had been since much changed; and he knew I had thought of nothing, but my Garden and a Private Life, for these three or four years past, till the King sent for me upon this Peace with *Holland*. That he knew what had passed since, and he knew all; for I was no man of Mystery nor Intrigue; That I went abroad, when the King called me, and I liked my Errand; and when these did not happen, I stayed at home.

But

But I was still desirous to know what gave him Occasion of saying that to me ; for what the King had said could not be interpretend to mean any such thing.

He told me, that he knew I was related to my Lord Treasurer, and hear'd I was much in his Favour ; that he was now the Great Man, and could do what he pleased, and thought he might do this, among other things, and could not imagine I would refuse the *Spanish* Embassy, unless my Lord Treasurer and I had agreed upon the other. I found where this Matter pinch'd, and said smiling, That he was never more mistaken in his Life : That it was true, my Wife was related to my Lord Treasurer ; and that we were great Companions, when we were both together young Travellers and Tennis Players in *France* : But that for near twenty years past, we had not at all fallen in one anothers way, till upon what had passed since the late Councils, about a Peace with *Holland*, in which our Opinions seemed to agree : That since, we had met sometimes, but not often, nor in any Confidences. That I knew he was a great Man, but could not tell yet, to what Points of the Compass, he intended to steer : That I left him, as I did every Body else, to take his own Measures; and for mine he knew very well how little I troubled my Friends about them. C Upon

Upon this he began with another Countenance than in the beginning of this Conversation, to tell me, that he easily believed all I told him; that he was so far from disliking my being well, with my Lord Treasurer, how ill soever he was with him, that he advised me, as a Friend, to be as well with him as I could. That he confess'd he thought I might have entered with him into a Concert, of getting into his Place, instead of Sir *Joseph Williamson*, which would have been no Injury to him, for he knew I would not think of it, but upon the same Terms as the other: That since we were fallen into this Discourse, he would go farther with me, and tell me, 'twas true he had a good while had a mind to leave the toil of his Place, and perhaps the Envy; and so had agreed with Sir *Joseph Williamson*, to come in, and give him six thousand Pounds, when my Lord *St. Albans* should be willing to part with the Chamberlain's Staff, for which he was to give him ten. That my Lord *St. Albans* had been of late very much unresolved in this Matter, and he knew not when he would fix: That whenever he did, he was engaged in the other to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, by the King's Consent, and would do nothing to break it. But if I had a mind, and could make Interest enough in my
 Lord

Lord Treasurer to turn it another way, and bring my Lord St. *Albans* to a Resolution, he would leave me wholly to play my own Game ; and for his own part, it should be all one to him, from whom he received the six thousand Pounds : and he would not only be passive in it, but if the King should ask his Opinion, as to the Fitness or Capacity of the Persons, he would tell it him freely with all the Preference to me that I deserved.

I gave his Lordship many thanks for the Kindness and Frankness of this Discourse ; but I told him, I believed it need go no farther. That for my own part, I was both against his going out of the Secretary's Place, and against my own or any Body's coming into it for Money ; and I ended this Conversation with saying a great deal, to dissuade him from leaving his Place.

About three or four Days after, Mr. *Sidney* told me, that my Lord *Arlington* had spoken to Mr. *Mountague* about what had passed between us, and with a great deal of Kindness of me, especially for being so earnest with him to keep his Place, and the Reasons I had given him for it ; but yet in the Belief, that I ought not to neglect this Occasion, because he was resolved. Mr. *Sidney* was mighty earnest with me to
C 2
resolve

resolve too ; and next day Mr. *Mountague* spoke to me himself ; and believing nothing could stick with me, unless it were taking up the Money, he offered to help me to it ; which was more than I had reason to expect from him or any man else. My Wife is enough inclined I should do it, though she and my Children run most Hazzard in it, if I should die, and leave my Estate charged with such a Debt, which though small at present, yet I thank God, is clear. For my own part, I confess I find no Motions about me towards it, and should have thought the *Spanish* Embassy a much better Employment. I have ever detested the Custom grown amongst us of selling Places, and much more those of so much Importance to the Crown. I think it no great honour to be preferred before Sir *Joseph Williamson*, and yet I would not do him an Injury neither, as this would seem to be. I have seen such Changes at Court, that I know not yet what to make of this last ; and still remember poor Monsieur *de Witt's* Word of, *Fluctuation perpetuelle dans la conduite d' Angleterre* ; which of all things in the World I am not made for ; and had rather once for all, break my Head with going on, than be wrenching my self continually with suddain Turns. I need say no more of this Mat-

ter; it lies before you. Pray please to talk with my Brother about it; 'tis what the Family is concerned in more than I, and therefore pray let me receive your Judgment upon it; which in this, as all things else, shall ever have the greatest weight with,

S I R,

Your most Obedient

Son, &c.

C 3

To

To Sir John Temple.

Shewn, May 16, 1674.

S I R,

I Have wholly followed your Opinion, both in declining the Motion, about the Secretary's Place, and in fixing that of *Holland*; since I find That the only present Employment you are content with for me, and you are not content with none. My Lord *Arlington* seemed to take what I said to him upon both very indifferently; and though at first he raised a Scruple about my going into *Holland*, in regard of a certain Lord's having been very hot, for some time, in the pursuit of it: Yet when I persisted in it, upon the King's having in *February* designed me for it, of his own Motion: He advised me to take my Measures, as well as I could, with my Lord Treasurer, about the main Point, which was, what he related to the Exchequer; and for the King, he knew very well, there would be no Difficulty. Both these are now settled: The King has resolved to
send

send me over Ambassador Extraordinary to the States : And my Lord Treasurer, is after some Contest, fallen into the Terms I insisted, which is to equal me with the other Embassies of the Crowns ; and so I engaged , in my Preparations, for this Journey. His Majesty is resolved I shall offer his Mediation to the States, in their present War with *France*. If it be accepted by them and all the Parties , I reckon he will be Master of the Peace, and the Parties be hindred from making their separate Treaties, when they are once engaged in a general one. I hope you will like what is done, as much as you seemed before to desire it ; which is all I ask, and leave the rest to God Almighty, for what is to come.

I resolve to take my whole Family over ; but yet that my Wife and Son shall first make you a Visit, since I see you will not think of coming over. 'Tis their turn now , and my Sister and I will go first into *Holland*, though we should both be very glad to wait upon you again , if it could have been allowed us. But my Wife will not consent to my going without either her or my Sister ; and she has a great mind to carry over her Son to you her self,

after having been so long in *France*,
 and at an Age when commonly the
 great Changes are made, which you will
 judge of when you see him. I shall,
 at present, give you no further trou-
 ble than the Professions of my being
 ever,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, July 17. S. N. 1674

S I R,

I Ordered an Account, of my Arrival here, on *Friday* last, to be given Mr. Cook, by that Night's Post; which being all I had then to say, I thought might well save you any farther Trouble, at that Time. On *Saturday* morning I sent to the Pensioner *Fagel*, to desire an hour of seeing him some time that Day: He excused it, but sent me Word withal, that he would not fail of coming to me some time in the Evening; which he performed, in a Visit, about two hours long. After the Compliments on both sides, I fell upon these Points with him. The Satisfaction His Majesty had received, in the late Peace with the States; His Desires and Resolutions to continue and cultivate it: The Reason He had to content Himself with the Posture and Advantages in which He stood, by a Peace with all His Neighbours, while they were all engaged, in a War: That if his Bounty and Piety, did not prevail with Him, farther than
His

His Interests, He should Sit down with His own Peace, and not trouble Himself farther about that of *Christendom* : But these Dispositions, and the Desire of so general a Good, had engaged Him, to offer His Mediation in the present Quarrels . That it had been accepted by *France*, and promised to be considered of by the *Emperor*, and *Spain*, in concert with their *Allies*. That the *States* Ambassadors in *England*, who understood our Constitutions, and the Dispositions of the *King* my Master better than Strangers could do, had promised all their Offices, that His Majesty's Offer might be accepted here, and that the Parties might consent to the Choice of *London*, for the Place of Treaty : And thereupon, I had brought over a Letter from His Majesty, to the *States*, with the Offer of His Mediation : That they ought to believe, that if His Majesty were partial to any Side, it must be to that, wherein his own *Nephew* was so nearly concerned ; and that they ought to think so the rather, since his Majesty made the Offers of Mediation, at a Time when all the Advantage of the War had run so high on the *French* side, and were in all Appearance, likely to do so still. That perhaps, if his Majesty had seen *Flanders* like to be defended, by the Arms of the Con-

Confederates ; he might have spared or delayed this Office : That they knew he understood his Interest too well, to be content, to see *Flanders* lost ; and that his Honour would not suffer him, no more than the Condition in which the last War hath left him, to go about preserving it any other way , than that of a Peace. That his Majesty would be very glad such a one might be made, as would leave *Flanders* in a better Posture of defending it self, than it was before, by laying the *Spanish* Territories together more in a Round, than the last Peace left them : And, that when this should be concluded, I did not doubt, but they would find his Majesty ready to enter into the best and strongest Guaranties of it, they could desire.

I need not trouble you, to tell you how this Matter passed between us ; but sum up together what, all I drew from him in the whole Conference, amounted to. He first gave me Thanks for the Advice I had given their Ambassadors there ; and said, he should be glad, I would always be their Councillor, how they ought to comport themselves to his Majesty upon all Occasions. He fell into a Relation of the Forces of their present League, especially by the Conjunction of the Duke of
Brandenburg.

Brandenburgh, whose Treaty with the Emperor and them, he assured me, was absolutely concluded, so as to bring him into an Offensive Part of the War. That though they could not expect another so great Conjunction, and had but too great Testimonies of the ill will of *France*, particularly to this State; yet they had no other Thoughts but only of gaining such a Peace, as might leave them and their Allies out of Danger, upon a new Invasion from *France*: That for their own Parts, they had recovered all they had lost, except *Grave*, which they hoped suddenly for a good Account of, being already invested by Monsieur *Ralenhout*; for *Mastricht* they had given up by Agreement to the *Spaniards*. That it was impossible for them to leave their Allies, who under God, had saved their State from absolute Ruin; but whatever Terms of Peace they would consent to, would satisfy the States. That they believed *Spain* will be moderate, and though their Treaty with that Crown, obligeth them to the Conditions of the *Pyrenees*, yet there is a Clause, which alloweth it to be altered, by Consent: That they apprehend *Sueden*, as too partial to *France*; but are content to make his Majesty, Arbiter, in all their Affairs; and to this End, that they were resolv-

resolved to accept of the Mediation, were willing that *London* should be the Place of *Congress*, and that they would leave it to his Majesty there, either to propose the Scheme of a Peace himself, or to retrench and adjust, according to his Prudence and Equity, what Propositions should be made, on each Side; by the Parties themselves : That they would perform all the Offices they could, to induce the *Emperor* and *Spain* to agree with them in these Points, both by the States writing effectually to their Ministers in those two Courts, and by his Speaking earnestly ; both with the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Ministers here. That he was satisfied, how safe their Interest would lye in his Majesty's Hands; and that this State would ever make it their Endeavour, to deserve the Friendship and Protection of the Crown of *England*; by which they knew it could best be preserved, as well as it had at first been raised.

After this Conference with the Pensioner, I thought it best to neglect no time in the Delivery of my Letters; and so went that Evening to the President of the *Week*, and put into his hands, both that of Credence and the other of Mediation ; which were both received by him, with great Applauses, upon the Subject of the Peace, and the

the Recovery of his Majesty's Favour, and Friendship to this State.

Upon *Sunday* after noon, the President to whom I had delivered my Letters, came to me, and told me; he was ordered by the States General, to attend me with the Account of their having perused his Majesty's Letters: Upon the first, he made me their Compliments, which being chiefly Personal, need no Relation. Upon the Letter which carryed his Majesty's Offer of Mediation, he said, without doubt, the States would receive it with Joy and with Thanks; but being engaged to several Allies, they could not do it, without first communicating it to them; which they would do immediately, and in such manner, as they questioned not to induce them, to accept it too. I told him, that the *Emperor* and *Spain*, having put their Delay in accepting of it upon their Allies, by whom I understood the States to be meant; I expected at least, that the States would have accepted it, as to themselves, or their Part in the Quarrel: But he said, that it self could not be done by their Agreement, without a Communication, which they hoped his Majesty would not interpret ill, since it could produce, but the Delay of some few days, and was meant, to extend the Acceptance

to their Allies : I desired him, to let the States know, however, what I had expected in this Point ; and asked him, whether they would not have been glad, that upon his Majesty's Offer of Mediation to all the Parties, *France* had refused it, or made Difficulties upon it, and the Confederates had accepted it, with the best Grace that could be ; he confess'd, he would : Upon which, I told him, then they had Reason to be Sorry, that just the contrary had hapned ; he seemed to be touch'd, and said he would likewise, report this to the States.

I have not since, been able to see the Pensioner, nor the President of the *Week* ; and therefore shall only say in general, that though the Assurances I received from the first, and the Account I had from the last, seem a little different ; yet I am confident, his Majesty may reckon, that an Obstruction of the Peace, will not arise from hence. For besides the general Dispositions and Interests of Traders, and the Jealousies, natural between the Civil and Military Power ; I find their Payments are on all Hands too great, to be long continued ; their Hopes are very moderate from the Successes of their Armies or Fleets ; and I see no Advantages, that they propose to themselves, though both should prosper,

prosper, besides the running *France* a little more out of Breath; so that the Peace may be probable to last the longer.

I find the Pensioner is the great Man here; and acts all under the Prince's Influence, though not without some Dislike among the Richer sort of People in the *Towns*. He is a Person whose Dispositions may, I am confident, be improved, to make him as partial to *England*, as those of his Predecessor were esteemed to *France*; in case there were any Competition of those two Interests here. The Point upon which, I judge this to turn chiefly, is that of Religion in which I find him; by his Discourses, very warm; and hear by others, that he hath it very much at Heart.

I am ever

SIR, *Tout m'est &c.*

To

To the Prince of Orange.

Hague, Aug. 1. 1674.

May it please Your Highness,

THough I could not kiss Your Highness's Hands, in the way I desired, immediately upon my Arrival here; yet I could not forbear the doing of, it this way, upon the very first Occasion; and assuring your Highness, with how much Ambition, both of attending and serving you, I enter upon this Employment; which without those Motives, would be but a Point of meer Obedience, and not at all of Inclination. This, I am sure, your Highness will believe, when I have the Honour of entertaining you upon those Points; wherein his Majesty has pleased to instruct me, and which makes me so impatient to attend you, that I shall not stay, to satisfy the Forms here, but only to recover Health enough for another Journey and Passage of Sea; that used me very ill. I hope this will happen within a Day or two, and give

D

me

me the Occasion both of acquitting my
self of his Majesty's Commands, and of
expressing some Part of that Devotion,
wherewith I have been so long and,
shall be ever

S I R,

Your Highness's &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Hague, Aug. 18. 1674.

May it please Your Highness,

WHatever the Successes of the late
Battel have been, or the Conse-
quences shall prove : Your Highness may
be content to hear from a plain Man, and
who hath no Vein of Flattery about him ;
that the Accounts of your Friends, your
Allies, and your Enemies ; how much
soever they differ on other Points, yet
agree perfectly, in giving your Highness
all the Applauses and Renown upon this

Os.

Occasion ; that are due to the greatest Captain, and boldest Soldier. I cannot but give your Highness the Joy of it, and put you in mind at the same time, how reasonable it is ; that in such Adventures hereafter, you should manage your Life something the better, for having managed your Glory so well in
 * this. 'Tis not fit to give your Highness longer Interruptions, and therefore I shall end this, with my Wishes for your Safety ; since those for your Fortunes and Honour, have succeeded so well. I am ever with that Devotion and Truth, which become me.

* The Battle of Senef.

S I R,

*Your Highness's most humble,
 and most obedient Servant.*

D z

To

To My Lord *Arlington*.

Hague, Sept. 4. S. N. 1674.

My LORD,

I was very glad to find, by yours of the 11th past, the good Intentions, with which the Marquis *de Fresno* parted from you. If he can infuse them into the Ministers at *Madrid*, it will be a great Point gained, toward the Peace, and such as joined to the Dispositions we shall meet here, will not leave room, for the *Imperial* Councils to avoid the Progress of it. In the Discourses I hold here upon this Subject, with the chief Persons of the States; when I tell them, how the Peace is like to be hindred, by Interests wholly Foreign to theirs; it is grown a common Word among them; *je ne dis mot, mais je voudrois fort la paix*: And you may certainly reckon, upon all that can be done towards it from hence, when this Campaign ends; and before that, I am apt to think so much, that nothing will be done, as to believe; the less 'tis offered at, the better. Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* left the Prince in the Belief, that there would be another Battle;
and

and they tell me here, there is some great Design resolved of, by the Confederates, which must be suddainly executed ; because all agree, that the *Imperial* Troops have Orders to March towards the *Rhine*, by the middle of next Month. Sir *Gabriel* tells me likewise ; that at his coming away he ask'd the Prince, whether he would be willing I should come to him any where, while he continued in the Field ; but that his Highness answered ; *Qu'il seroit fort éloigné, et ses marches incertaines, que la campagne s'achèveroit bientôt, et qu' alors Il me verroit à la Haye.* Notwithstanding all this, which is no more than I have known long enough ; yet I have so well followed your Lordship's Advice in understanding what had pass'd, just as the Prince was willing I should, that I am pretty confident I shall be as well with him at his Return, as the King can wish, for the Advance of the Service I have in charge. I am assured by one, to whom Monsieur de *Marestes* (the *French* Minister here, who has great Credit with the Prince) told it a little before his Highness left the *Hague* ; that upon Discourse in private, concerning the Affairs of *England*, and my coming over, the Prince said ; *Qu'il avoit telle opinion de ma probité qu'il crov oit tout ce que je luy dirois là dessus :* What the

late Accident between us, may have produced, I know not ; but by a Letter I received this Morning, in answer to one I wrote upon the late Fight ; I could not believe any thing amiss there : I send your Lordship a Copy of it, because this is his own, though the last might very well be another Style, as you guessed.

I likewise inclose, what I said to the States at my Audience, which I hope, his Majesty will find comfortable, to what he intended ;, which I should be glad to know : And for the rest of that troublesome Ceremony, I will only tell you, that it pass'd very well on all Sides ; and I am sure on mine, with a great deal more Expence, than any Embassy I have ever seen here ; which (considering the Course of my natural Humour, when I am private) his Majesty may very well attribute to the Regard of his Honour ; that ought to be the greater, the worse I found the Representations made from *England* hither, of the Posture of our Affairs, and especially of the Revenue. After this, I am like to be idle for a Month or six Weeks, that is, till the Return of the Prince ; and if I am left to my self, I will not be too busy, which is a Part rather over-acted by my Brother Ambassador here, upon the Point of Mediation, and is grown to be taken for

o much, of little to the Purpose, But when the Prince comes; if his Majesty gives me leave, to take my Times and Ways, and continues in the Mind I left him, of desiring such a Peace as might leave *Flanders* defensible, and can but procure Powers from *Spain* to any Person within my Reach, here; I am pretty confident, by all the Prospects I have on every Side, that it will be a Business, within compass. I am not less confident, of setting all Things right between his Majesty and the Prince, and thereby preventing the Seeds of any future Mischiefs, in the Royal Family; both which Works, I desire you will assure his Majesty, shall be pursued with all my Skill and Industry, and in the Ways I conceive most conducing to their Success; and if I have the Honour of atchieving them, it will be enough for such a Life as mine. And the King will then give me leave, I hope, to go and Sleep at home, and leave my Son in the busy World, which requires Men Spirited with some other Heats, than I have about me. If upon his coming over you can find any Thing you would have said to me, though he be Young, yet I am pretty confident he may be trusted with it; for he has a good plain Steddy Head, and is desirous to do well.

I do not trouble you with any current News, having cast a Digestion of all that occurs here of that Kind upon my Secretary; as being unwilling to answer for what one hears, though perhaps it may be fit to tell, with the very Uncertainties that attend it. However I take care he shall be as well informed as can be compassed in this Place.

I am ever most affectionately,

Yours &c.

To

To My Lord Keeper.

Hague, Sept. 4. S. N. 1674.

My LORD,

I Know so well how many necessary Troubles attend so great Persons as Your Lordship, that I have been very unwilling at all to encrease them, by any, that are unnecessary from hence; and such I was sure all must be, that come this way; since your Lordship has, whatever you are content to be troubled with of my constant Dispatches to Mr. Secretary. However, I could not satisfy my self to be wholly out of your Memory, and therefore resolved to make an ill way to it, rather than none; though I had much rather put in my Claim to it, by serving your Lordship, than by troubling you. The Dispositions here are strong towards a Peace, and I hear they are not weak in *France*. *Spain* would be glad to make a good War, but fears an ill one; which by the Division of their Councils and Ministers may well fall to their Share. The Emperor is most eager of the Four, to keep up the Ball, being armed at others Cost, and growing into greater Consideration

ration by it at home, whatsoever he does abroad. *Sweden* would, I believe, be glad to draw the Stakes they have in their keeping, without entring into the Game; and though they have Treaties concluded with *France*, and begin to Arm with their Money, yet they press on the Mediation, with all the Instances they can, in hope that way to excuse themselves from any share in this Years Action. *Denmark* only observes the Motion of that Crown, and will be ever in the other Scale.

The Prince of *Orange* is, I doubt, resolved to have more Honour yet, before this Campaign ends, though he had his full share of it in the last Action of *Seneffe*, and more than his Share of the Danger. This makes us here expect another Battel or Siege very suddainly, and while so great Adventures are stirring, no Man can judge of the Events of the Year. I inclose a Copy of what I said to the States last Week at my Publick Audience, that Your Lordship may judge whether it be conformable to His Majesty's Intentions, which you are better acquainted with.

Among

Among the many Pieces of Justice
Your Lordship does every Day to in-
different Men, I hope you will not
refuse me that, of believing me al-
ways what I am with Passion and
Truth,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's Most

Faithful and Most

Humble Servant,

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, Sept. 17. S. N. 1674.

S I R,

THIS Day I received a Visit from the Pensioner; wherein he told me, First, That by Letters from *Vienna*, he had great hopes given him, that his Majesty's Mediation would be accepted by that Court, and that this Advice was seconded by the Emperor's Ministers here; though he said, he found by both, that His Majesty's Subjects having had so great a share in the last Action between Monsieur *Turenne*, and the Imperial Forces, was taken very unkindly by that Court, and other Princes of the Empire. He told me besides, that he had a particular Advice from the States Ministers at *Vienna*, that Monsieur *Puffendorf* the Swedish Envoy there, endeavoured under hand, all he could, to hinder the accepting His Majesty's Mediation by that Court, which he (the Pensioner) could not apprehend the Reason of; unless it were, that the *Swedes* had no mind to see the present Game end, without making yet some more Advantages of it; or that they had a desire to remain the Sole Arbiters

Arbiter of the *Munster* Peace ; whereas the Interpretation of some Articles of it might be referred to his Majesty, in case his Mediation should now be accepted by the Empire . But upon this Point the Pensioner concluded, that if this Matter should be much longer delay'd, by either the Court at *Vienna*, or *Madrid* , this State would let them know, that they absolutely accepted His Majesty's Mediation, which he did not doubt would be followed by a Concurrence from them both.

After this, he told me, that upon the Representations he had made to the Prince of what had pass'd between us here upon the Subject of the Peace, he had received Orders from His Highness to come to me, and desire to know more particularly what His Majesty's Intentions were in this Matter ; and upon what Terms His Majesty desired the Peace should be made ; and to assure me, that when he knew them, His Highness would endeavour that this State should comply all that could be with them, and that as to what concerned themselves, he knew they would be content to leave all to His Majesty's own Arbitrage ; and he did not doubt, though they could not treat apart from their Allies, yet they might go a great way in disposing them to receive any Overture that should be made
of

of a safe and lasting Peace. He told me farther, that his Orders from the Prince were to enter into this Matter only with me, and without the Communication of their Ambassadors in *England*, because he thought it was the better, the fewer hands it pass'd.

I told the Pensioner I would not fail letting his Majesty know all that he had said to me from the Prince, and returning him an Answer, more particularly so soon as I received it : In the mean time I was sure that it would be taken kindly by his Majesty ; and that the more Confidence he express'd of the King's Kindness to him, as well as of his Justice in the Business of the Mediation, the more Reason he would have to rely upon both. That for the Terms of the Peace, I could only say in general, that his Majesty desired, as well as they, that it might be lasting and safe, being equally concerned in preserving *Flanders*, which was only in danger : But for Particulars, I thought it was not the part of a Mediator; to propose the Terms, but rather receive such as should be proposed by both Parties, and endeavour to agree them by moderating what should seem excessive, and finding Expedients for what was difficult, in either of these Demands. That
on

On the *French* side, all being in the Hands of once Prince, it might be resolved in a Day ; but the Interests and Intentions of several Confederates, were harder to agree upon ; and therefore I thought the Propositions towards a Peace ought to begin from thence ; which if his Majesty were once possess'd of, he would endeavour to make them go, as far as they could with *France* : Therefore I told him, that as I would transmit to his Majesty the Prince's Desire of knowing the King's Intentions in this Matter ; so they ought to know what Terms *Spain* propos'd to themselves, after a Campaign past, with so great Expectation, and so little Advantage on the Confederate side.

The Pensioner told me, I had Reason in all I said, and that he would speak with *Don Emanuel de Lyra*, who he found had so much Credit in his Court, that he had never yet been disavowed in any thing he had undertaken for. He said, He knew it was a disadvantageous time for them to talk of a Peace now, but that he hoped, they might yet have some Success before the Campaign ended ; which he desired for nothing so much, as for the sooner obtaining the Peace ; since it might look unreasonable for them to demand the Restitution of Places conquered in *Flanders* last War ;
and

and yet it was absolutely unsafe for them to have that Country in the Posture it was upon the Treaty of *Aix* : That if this could be admitted, they were sure of the Peace ; for he had received new Instances from the *Count de Estrades*, by the Pensioner of *Mastricht*, who had been with him again that very Morning, and assur'd him, that what the *Count* propos'd, was not only from himself, but by Orders from his Master ; and hereupon he repeated to me what I wrote to you before of that Proposition, which was grounded upon the Treaty of *Aix*, the restoring Commerce to the State as it was in 1662 ; and *Mastricht* to the Prince of *Orange*, but not to the *Spaniard*. From this he fell into the Scheme of their present Affairs, assuring himself of *Grave* in a Fort-nights time, of the Imperial Army on the *Rhine* growing very strong, and *Monsieur Turenne's* very weak ; as likewise *Monsieur Schomberg's* in *Rouffillon*, where the Campaign was but now beginning ; and for the rest, excusing as well as he could, the ill Success of their Fleet under *Monsieur de Ruyter*, and saying, they should draw four thousand men out of it, upon their coming home, for reinforcing their Armies : And a great deal of this kind, which signified no more than the Resolution, of making the rest of this Campaign,

In the mean time his Majesty has it in his Choice, to open a Negotiation of the Peace, either by telling them here his own Thoughts or Intentions, as to the Terms of it ; or else by receiving from them such Propositions upon it, as may be first digested here, between *Don Emanuel de Lyra* and the Pensioner ; and this I shall endeavour all I can to bring to some Head ; and let it be as rough as it will at first, it will be the proper Part of a Mediator afterwards to work it into the best Form, that it is capable of receiving. For this End I am resolved to find out some Expedient or other to meet with *Don Emanuel de Lyra*, who hath not yet seen me, upon the Points of Ceremony that lie between our Characters. For the present, I shall only say upon the whole Matter, that I believe, in case *France* can be induced to leave such a Frontier in *Flanders*, as may be thought defensible, and so leave no Suspensions of their Design to begin a new War when they are in a better Posture, and these Countries in a worse to pursue it ; the Business of the Peace will hardly fail ; nor any Interest, either Private or Foreign, prevail with this State to go on with the War. But on the other side, if this Point cannot be gained, I believe the Dispositions here, how passionate soever towards a Peace, will not have

the Force to bring it about; but that they will rather content themselves to lessen their own Charge, by setting out no more Fleets, and only maintaining a Body of five and twenty, or thirty thousand Men at Land, which, as Auxiliary Forces, may, upon occasion, join with the Imperial or *Spanish* Troops, who shall be left as Principal in the War. I am ever,

S I R;

Your, &c.

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, Octob. 1. S. R. 1674

S I R,

I Have none from you of late to acknowledge, and doubt I lie too much out of your Way, to expect any longer the honour of that Correspondence, with which my Employment here began, and which I esteemed one of the best Circumstances that attended it. Sir *Joseph Williamson* gave me notice last Post, both of his Promotion, and of the Affairs of this Province being fallen under his Care; as likewise of what Commands his Majesty had that Day ordered to be transmitted to me; whereupon I make him this Day the usual Dispatch in return. I know not whether by this Change You will be able to get wholly out of my Reach, because, you know, 'tis hard for a Man to lose a Good Haunt, or an Ill Custom: And I shall not be content to forfeit the Possession of your Favour or Memory, for want of sometimes laying claim to it: I must however rejoice with you upon your Removal to better Climates, and more prosperous Scenes; especially at a Time when the Affairs of this have so very ill an Aspect, by

the Dissentions and Distrusts among the Generals of the Confederates, which I may tell you are to the last Degree, and the most Criminal; and such as have not only ruined their Affairs this Campaign, but must do so, while these Men are in Play. I will not give you both a long and an unnecessary Trouble; what Use you will make of me here, and in what Degree, shall be in your own Disposal; for no man is with more Truth nor Esteem than I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, Octob. 5. S. N. 1674.

S I R,

THough I gave you Joy of the Secretary's Place before I came away, and desired your Protection, as looking then upon it as a Thing done; yet finding by the last Ordinary, that you were but now newly enter'd upon the Actual Possession of it; I could not forbear renewing the Expressions that become me upon both those Subjects; and wishing you the Honour, and his Majesty the Service that you both propose to your selves by this Promotion. I know very well, the Compliments I can make you, will be lost, as they deserve, among many others you will receive upon this Occasion; and therefore I shall not increase them, or give a long and unnecessary Interruption in the midst of so much and so various Business, as must have fallen upon you with this Advancement; but shall end this Trouble with the Professions of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

E 3

To

To the PRINCE.

Hague, Oct. 15. S. N. 1674.

May it please Your Highness,

I Cannot forbear rejoicing with Your Highness upon your nearer Approach to these Countries, and wishing you all success in the Designs that have brought you where you are, and hinder'd your coming farther at present, tho' your Highness's Person may be necessary here, as well as in other Places. In my last I gave Your Highness an Account of what I said to the States at my Audience, and therein the general Scope of my present Ambassy, as to what concerns his Majesty's Dispositions, both in relation to His Own Peace with these Countries, and to the General Peace of *Christendom*. Your Highness will have received before this comes to you, from his Majesty's own Hands, and at length, what you could desire more of his Particular Kindness to your Highness's Person and Interests, and of his Intentions upon the Subject of the Peace, both as to the Preservation of *Flanders* and *Guaranty* of the Peace, if it were once concluded, towards which your Highness must furnish the first Materials.

If

If upon this Occasion Your Highness ha^s
 any Commands to lay upon me, I should
 be very glad to know whether you please
 to have me attend them here till your Re-
 turn to this Place, or think fit to convey
 them to me by *Monsieur Fagel*, or any other
 Person ; or whether you will command me
 to wait upon you at any Place or Time you
 shall please to appoint : In the mean time,
 I pray God continue Your Highness's
 Health and Safety, according to the con-
 stant Wishes of,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

E 4

To

To My Lord Chamberlain,

Hague, Octob. 16. S.N. 1674.

My LORD,

THE last Packets brought me Yours of the 29th past, which was in all Parts of it both useful and welcome to me, excepting only the Excuses it began with, upon the Arrear you mention, of so many Letters during your Illness and Absence from Town. How unnecessary any such Expressions were to me, you will easily judge, by my having continued constantly the Course of writing, whenever I had any Occasion; which I did, and shall do, upon the belief, you are content it should be so, whether you write or no, till you discourage me in it. I was very glad to find by the Style of your Letter, that your Health was grown better, and your Temper not at all worse, since the Ill Accidents that have lately fallen out, enough indeed to shake them both if they had not been firm at bottom. The best Wish I can make you, is, that you may long enjoy and continue them both; especially that *in equam rebus in arduis servare mentem*; which I take to be either the best Profession we bring with us into the World, or the best Acquisition we can make while we are in it. I must

I must acknowledge the Honour his Majesty does me, and indeed the Credit he thereby gives me with the Prince, by the Communication of what was the Substance of his last Letter ; which I think was the rightest understood that could be, and cannot but produce some good Effect ; either by procuring a direct Answer from the Prince upon the main Point, or at least by introducing me, in the very best Manner ; into the Overtures and Negotiation of it when I see the Prince, which cannot be far off. In the mean time, I have immediately upon the Receipt of yours, written to his Highness just the Points you directed me in ; and in a manner, the very Terms you give me, desiring to know, whether he will have me attend his Return hither ; or send me his Commands by Monsieur *Fagel*, or any other Person ; or have me wait upon him in any Place or Time, he shall please to command.

I have never heard from him, since I gave his Highness an Account, of what I said to the States at my Audience, and therein the Scope of his Majesty's Dispositions concerning the Peace, with the Offers of his Mediation ; which made me think he would be stanch in all that Matter, till the Campaign ended ; and perhaps

haps the colder he is, the less he should be press'd, till the Course of Things and Occasions, bring him about, and dispose him, rather to sollicite his Majesty's Offices, than decline them. This, I believe may happen, at his Return hither; especially if *Grave* should be taken; which would still increase the violent Inclinations to the Peace, which grow every day in these Provinces; especially that of *Holland*, and most of all, in the Town of *Amsterdam*, which begins to apprehend a Loss of Trade, that will be hardly recovered, after any long course into another Channel.

By what I can find, from *Dan Emanuel de Lyra*, the Dispositions at *Madrid*, are strong towards a Peace too, so it might leave no Prospect of a new War; and though I suspect the Intentions at *Vienna*, upon the *Emperor's* Power at home, as well as his Consideration abroad, encreasing so much and so evidently by the War; yet knowing how absolutely that Court must depend upon *Spain* and *Holland*, from whom they draw the Subsidies that maintain their Armies: I am of opinion, that not only his Majesty's Mediation, would be easily accepted by all Parties, but the absolute Arbitrage of all Matters in difference, would be left in his Hands; in case
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the Confederates were but possess'd, with an Opinion of his Majesty's being impartial in the Matter; to which I hope, his last Discourse with the Marquis de Fresne, and Letter to the Prince; may have a great deal contributed.

The Emperor's Resident here, told me two Days since, that Court was resolv'd to accept his Majesty's Mediation; *Mais toujours sous l'aveu de l'Espagne*: And that they were upon Choice of a Person, to be sent over suddenly, with publick Character into *England*. The Dutch Minister writes to the States, that the Emperor will not accept the Mediation, till his Majesty's Forces are recalled out of *France*: But the Resident here, says, there is no such Condition mentioned; though he adds modestly, it would be a great Inducement to the Emperor, and help to satisfy the Princes of *Germany*; with the Emperor's coming to that Resolution, who took it to heart to see such a Body of *English*, en tous les d'émêlés durant toute cette Campagne. Besides I must needs tell you, that the Dutch Ambassadors, have made such Representations, of the Dispositions and Intentions of our Court, being so absolutely in favour of *France*, that they are very apt here to interpret the Instances we make towards a Peace, to be concerted with

with *France*; and some of them tell me plainly and frankly, they knew the King would not make them, if *France* did not desire the Peace, and find it necessary for their Affairs. When I say, their Ambassadors, I do not mean Monsieur Odyke, nor what they have written, since his being there : But I reflected upon a Passage, which one of the States told me, was in a late Letter from the other Ambassadors ; which was : *Monsieur Odyke nous assure que le Roy a des fort bonnes dispositions pour notre Etat.*

The late Action near *Strasburgh*, will prove, I believe at last, to have been a drawn Business, and leave each Party the Pretence of a Victory ; as I see it has done, of the Field : I am sorry to hear his Majesty's Subjects have suffered so much in it, and doubt it will make way, for a greater Battle shortly, in case the *Brandenburg* Forces came up on the *Imperial* Side ; and both the Troops of the *Ban*, and Detachment from the Prince of *Condé*, on the *French* ; both which I find, are suddainly expected : They begin now to apprehend *Suedens* entring into the War ; which must engage *Denmark*, and open a greater and longer Scene in all Appearance, and leave his Majesty the only Mediator in so general a Quarrel.

This

(61)

This is too long a Letter to one, that
is but newly recovered, and engaged in
so many other Thoughts; and yet it must
not end without my being ever

Your most Faithful,

and Humble Servant.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague October 16. S. N. 1674.

My LORD,

MY Letters could never pretend more than your Lordship's Pardon; and have had too great a Return, in the Honour I received of one from your Lordship, intended me by my *Son*, who I doubt will be grown too proud, by your Lordship's owning him: But he is young, and may live to deserve some Place in your Service; which when you please to allow him, I shall own him no longer than while he acquitts himself well. I should be extreamly glad to receive the smallest Command from your Lordship in that Particular you please to mention, or any other; that so by my Diligence in small ones, I may deserve greater; and thereby find some better Ways of acknowledging the Favours I have received; and the Troubles I have given your Lordship, than by increasing them.

The Notices you please to command from Time to Time, of any thing that happens extraordinary, shall not fail you.

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As to the Enquiries in your last, concerning the Dispositions to a Peace, and their tampering with *France*; I may assure your Lordship, that the first grow very violent, and will I believe, appear so more, if they come to be Masters of *Grave*, where they are engaged, both upon Honour and Revenge of so many Men as it has cost them; and being the only Place of theirs, remaining among the *French* Conquests (since they have by Treaty quitted *Mastricht* to the *Spaniards*) whenever they recover it, they will I believe, begin to play the Mediators in the rest of the Quarrel. But that which makes the Beast of the People in general, so passionate for a Peace, is the unmeasurable Burthen of their Taxes; and the Interest of the Trading Towns, that say upon all Occasions; there is none gets by this War but *England*; and that if it should continue a Year or two longer, the general Course of Trade would run so far into our Channel, that they should be in Danger never to recover it. Besides, the rich men here are generally of the *Arminian* Party, and jealous of the Prince's Greatness, which must encrease by a War. So as all these Humours flowing together, make a Current, that nothing can stem, but the Force of their Engagements to their Confederates;

and

and of their Interest in preserving of *Flanders* to such a Degree, and in such a Posture as may leave *France*, without the Design of another War that Way ; or in case they attempt it, may prove a strong Bullwark to these Countries, and easily defensible by their Assistances, without entring as Principals into the War.

By this your Lordship will easily conclude, that no Obstruction to the Peace is like to come from hence, but from *Spain* or the *Emperor*. For *Spain*, their Government is so broken, by the Faction of the Ministers, and Minority of their King, that they find themselves very unfit for any great Action in the World ; and so would, I am confident, be very glad of a Peace, provided it might leave them, out of fear of another Invasion from *France* ; and so they may neither be compelled to so vast an Expence as the maintaining of great Armies in Time of Peace, nor despair of defending their Country, whenever a War should begin : And they think neither of these can be brought about by a Peace, upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle* ; which left *Flanders* neither of a Size to keep great Armies, nor of a Figure, to be defended by small.

For these Reasons, though the want of Success this Campaign has made them, I
be-

believe, willing to come to a Peace, much under the Terms of the *Pyrenees* ; which were fix'd by the Confederates, upon the last Treaty between the House of *Austria* and this State ; yet I doubt they will rather try another Campaign, upon the Hopes of what their present Conjunction may yet produce, than end the War just where it begun.

For the Emperor, I doubt more the Dispositions to a Peace on his Side, than any of the rest ; finding himself powerfully armed, and at others Cost ; and thereby his Consideration growing greater every day in the Empire, whatever it does abroad. Besides, whatever Battels may cost, the Resources of Men are so great in *Germany*, that they can never fail whilst *Spain* and *Holland* can furnish the Money ; or the several Circles of the Empire, continue animated in the Quarrel. Besides, the Emperor foresees himself engaged in a War with *France*, upon the Succession of *Flanders* , if the King of *Spain* should fail without Issue ; and therefore had rather drive on the War, till he can see *Flanders* secured, and *Lorrain* in safe Hands ; than leave those Points to be disputed by a new War, at a Time perhaps when he may not find Himself so strong ; either in Confederates abroad, or

the Concurrence at home of the several Princes and Circles, nor so disengaged from the *Turk* or the Troubles of *Hungary* at his Back.

For the Princes of the Empire, though they seem a good deal Spirited in the present Quarrel, by the late Invasions of *France*, and the Exchange of many Cruelties between the two Nations in the *Palatinate*; and by the Possessions given them of the Safety, as well as Honour of *Germany*, being engaged in this War; yet I believe, after the first Heat is over; the Dissentions natural to Bodies, that have so many Heads; the Jealousy of too great a Growth of the Emperor's Power, and the Fear of drawing the *Suedes* again into the War, or Spoils of *Germany*; will incline them generally enough to a Peace, and without straining further than the Treaty of *Munster*; beyond which *France* has not yet pretended any Design, that I remember in the Course of the War.

For *Sueden*; I look upon them as engag'd with *France* by Treaty and Money, both already received; and more lying ready at *Hamburg*, upon their entring into Action; which I believe they will be glad to avoid, at least for this Year, if they can any way excuse it to *France*: And this makes them so earnest upon the Mediation,
and

and use to great Instances towards agreeing a Place of Congress; which might look like the beginning of Treaty, and make their Offices in it, pass for some Satisfaction of what they owe to *France*. If they engage in the War, they will, I believe, try to set the Bishop of *Munster* again upon his Legs: And on the other Side, the King of *Denmark* will joyn with the Elector of *Brandenburg* and Dukes of *Lauenburg*, to make Head against *Sueden*, in these Western Parts of the Empire.

For these States tampering with *France*, all I have found of it with Certainty, I gave Notice to the Secretaries, about six Weeks since; which was a Negotiation begun by the Count *d' Estrades*, Governour of *Mastricht*, and formerly in the Service and Embassage of this Country. He assured the Pensioner here, of his Masters restoring, not only the *Grave*, but *Mastricht*, too, provided it might not be given to the *Spaniards*: Of returning all Points of Commerce to the State they were in, by the Treaty of 1662. Of advancing all that could be any Interests and Advantages of the Prince, upon a Treaty; and of making the Peace with *Spain* upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*. Though I saw a very earnest Letter upon this Occasion, in general from the Count

d' Estrades himself ; yet no Particulars have passed further than between the Pensioner here, and the Person to whom it was Writ, and who was sent to him from *Mastricht* : And the last Answer I could hear of, was ; that when they saw any thing in Writing, they would give an Answer to it. Upon the whole ; I do not doubt of this State's having very advantageous Terms from *France*, if they would make a Peace seperate from their Allies ; but I see not how that can be done, either with Honour or Safety, considering the Opinion they have of our new Intelligence with *France*, even in all our Offers of mediating the Peace ; and which their Ambassadors in *England* have long infused into them. On the other Side, the Dispositions on all Hands considered ; I am confident, if the Confederates were possess'd with any Belief of His Majesty's being Impartial in the Business ; they would not only accept his Mediation, but wholly remit their Differences to his Arbitrage.

I beg your Lordship to believe, I do not intend you many such Troubles, or would have given you this, without your encouraging me : And that by opening the Scene for once, your Lordship

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ship might the better judge, as any
Actors come in, what Paces they are
like to make.

I beg your Lordship's Pardon, and
the Belief of my being with great Pas-
sion and Truth,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's &c.

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To

To Sir *Joseph Williamson.*

[Hague November 6. S. N. 1674.]

S I R,

I was extremely glad to find by Yours of the 20th and 30th past, that His Majesty resolved to support me in the Claim I had made here of a free Trade for all our Ships, and the Merchandize they carry (if not counterband) without any Exception of their Trading from one Enemy's Port to another ; which cannot, I am sure, be drawn from the Words of the Articles. This made me confident even before the Arrival of your Letters, by a second Memorial to the States General, to demand the Restitution of the *Rebecca* ; and to tell them very plainly, that if any Doubt might arise upon the Sense of any Article in Treaties, subsisting between His Majesty and them, it could not be resolved without his Majesty's Consent ; and till that was obtained, they could not make themselves the Sole Judges or Interpreters against the plain common Sense of any Words, and to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Subjects. This was

was the Point I put all the Weight upon in my Memorial ; but having the Day after received his Majesty's Pleasure, with your Account of what had passed here in your Return this Way, and your Arguments upon this Subject ; I demanded an Hour of the Pensioner, and run through a very long Debate with him upon this Matter. The Heads of his Arguments were, the Judgment he pretended of several Authors upon the Point: The Practice of *France* and *Spain* and *Sueden* with them and ours, in the Time of his late Majesty and King *James* ; which he undertook to give me Examples of. And lastly, that it could not be the meaning to drive an Enemies Trade, but only to preserve a Friend's, I easily eluded this last by the Answer you made it, and by my own very true Protestations ; that at my signing the Confirmation of those Articles, I had no such Sense of them as he would now give them ; but took the meaning of them to be just the same with the Words : That free Ships made free Goods in all Cases, unless that of counterband. For the Sense of Authors Writing upon general *Theams*, and for their own Credit or that of their Professions ; I said, they could not be admitted to interpret any particular Treaties between Princes and States ; who might

make what Agreement they pleased between themselves, and very different from what Authors call *jus gentium*, or general Reason ; by which I think they commonly mean their own. That, for the Practice of other Kings with them, it was no Rule of theirs with his Majesty ; nor any Agreement that we should not have Justice from them, because they could not obtain it from others. But on the contrary, though they had it not, yet they ever demanded it both of *France* and *Spain* ; which was a certain Proof, that they esteemed that Just in their own Case, which they will not allow to be so in ours. That, for the practice he offered to produce on our Parts, in his late Majesty's Time, I should be content to see it, but could not tell how it could square with the present Case ; since it was grounded upon Articles never in force between his Majesty and this State, till the Treaty of *Breda*. I added to what I had said in my Memorial ; how unjust their Pretences was, to make a wrested Interpretation of plain Words, without his Majesty's Consent. That it was not fair to do it, at a Time, when the Advantage of such an Article, was only cast on our side, by the common Revolutions of War and Peace, which might be in their favour to morrow, as they were

were in ours to day ; whereas when the Advantage was by like Accidents cast on their Side, as it had been with *France* and *Spain*, they had ever insisted on the very same Point that we do now, and never given over the Instances upon it, whether they received Satisfaction or no. After a long and a warm Debate, I gained this from the Pensioner ; that for his own part, he was content it should be as I desir'd it, since the King understood it so, and it was to be reciprocal between us. That he could do nothing upon it in the States General, till the States of *Holland* assembled, which would be about a Fortnight hence : That he would then propose it there, and endeavour their compliance with his Majesty ; especially if the Prince, at his Return, approved of it ; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to have the Goods in the *Rebecca*, or the Product of them deposited, till the States came to a Resolution in this Matter ; the Ship it self being already free and gone, pursuant to a Resolution taken by the State in *May* last upon this Point.

I have been larger in stating this Matter, as it stood between me and the Pensioner, that being of so mighty importance to our Trade at this Time, his Majesty might both see the Right he had on his side, and
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be the firmer in maintaining it : And you may please to instruct me in any further Arguments against I enter the Lists with Commissioners here, if they should prove difficult, though the Pensioner be satisfied with it.

For the Passes and Orders to be sent with the Ship of Advice for *Surinam*, he assures me they shall be ready against I receive the Names of Ship and Person; but excuses their going with Blanks as a thing contrary to the constant Forms of this State; which indeed I doubted of before, and therefore took the Liberty to desire your instructing me thereupon as soon as you could.

Tho' the Current News here be still favourable to the Strength, or at least Good Countenance of the Confederate Troops in *Alsatia*, yet I saw a Letter Yesterday from a very good Hand, which makes a different Story, and says, they had given over all thoughts of fighting *Monsieur Turenne*; and that though the *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburg* Troops talk'd of taking up their Winter Quarters in the Upper *Alsace*, while those of the Emperor and the other Circles designed theirs in *Suabia*; yet it was believed at *Strasburg*, *Monsieur Turenne* would still keep the Field, and either engage the Confederates, or else force them all to retire beyond the Rhine. All the coun-

countenance that has been made by the
 Horse of the Confederates Armies in *Flanders*,
 has been, I suppose, only to keep the
French a little alarm'd, so as to send no more
 of their Forces towards *Monsieur Turenne*.
 The Prince came to a House he is building,
 in the Province of *Utrecht* on *Sunday*, made
 a great Hunting Party for Yesterday, and
 intended to be here, as some say, to day;
 but as others, not till *Thursday*, being the
 Day after the Bonfires intended for *Grave*.
 Yesterday were sent into my Yard about
 forty Pitch Barrels upon this Occasion, be-
 ing said to be sent by order of the States,
 and the like, or in proportion to other Fo-
 reign Ministers; but I ordered them to be
 sent back, and told some of the States, that
 whenever I made any such Fire, I would
 do it upon his Majesty's Charge, and no
 others; that in the mean time I did not
 think fit to do it at all upon this Occasion,
 when his Majesty had offered his Mediation
 in a Quarrel lying between two of his
 Allies; and that it would not look like the
 Part of a Mediator, to have his Minister
 thus concern himself, in successes of either
 Side. They pleaded an old Form in this
 Matter, and that it was intended to be
 done by those the States employ'd, and
 especially in the chief open Places of the
 Town: Upon which I told them, they
 might

might do it how they pleased, but that I should no way concern my self in it.

I ask your Pardon for so long a Trouble, which I shall end with the Professions of my being always,

SIR,

Your , &c,

To

To the KING.

Hague, Nov. 30. S. N. 1674

May it please Your Majesty,

HAVING seen the Prince twice since his Return hither, and at Leisure, I thought it became me to give your Majesty an Account of what I could observe, as to his present Dispositions, both in general, and more particularly, in what concerns your Majesty and the Business of the Peace. In general, I believe, he is pleased with the Life he hath led this Summer, and loves the Trade, and thinks himself better in Health and Humour the less he is at rest: So that I doubt, the Motions towards Peace, must be made from his Interests, rather than Inclinations. For what touches your Majesty, I find all the Expressions of Duty and Service, and Affection to be such, as you can desire, and to have all the Appearance that can be of sincereness and Truth. And I believe them so the more, by his Highness's enlarging so much upon the Interest of a near Conjunction with your Majesty, and between the Nations; which, he says, would make you both safe at home and abroad, and in need
of

of no other Allyances: And a great deal more of this kind.

For the Business of the Peace, though he complains very much of the ill performance of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists*, yet I find him positive upon these Points: That this State can make no separate Peace upon any Terms that *France* can offer them. That a General Peace cannot be made without leaving *Flanders* in a Posture of defending it self from any new and suddain Invasion of *France*, against which no *Guarantees* could defend it. That *Spain* cannot quit the County of *Burgundy* nor *Cambray* upon any Exchange; nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the Terms of the *Pyrenees*, unless it be *Aire* or *St. Omer*. That he had written to your Majesty all he yet knew, of the *Spaniard's* Intentions; but if he might know upon what Terms you thought a Peace reasonable, and desir'd it, he would do all in his Power to bring it about, as he had done in the Business of the Mediation, which he told me was now accepted at *Madrid* as well as *Vienna*. When I said, your Majesty having been the Author and Guarand of the Peace at *Aix*, and not having seen the *French* yet beaten out of any one Town that was given them by that Treaty; could with ill Grace propose any thing to *France* beyond those Terms,

or

or something equivalent. He said resolutely, that 'twere better going on with the War, let it last as long, and cost as much as it would ; and that he believed all men of any sense in this Country were of the same Mind : I told his Highness, that I doubted it, and wish'd that upon tryal he did not find it otherwise. But seeing him unmovable upon these Discourses, I turn'd them another way, and said ; Though your Majesty would omit nothing that became a Christian King and a Friend to his Highness, in the Good Offices towards a Peace, yet if they were not understood to be so, your Majesty might perhaps content your self to grow rich, by the Encrease of your Customs and of Trade ; and let them and their Neighbours knock their Heads together as long as they pleased. He smiled, and said, he believed so : And for that Reason I talk'd of Terms which I knew the *Spaniards* could not accept of : And then he fell into Talk, how easie it was for your Majesty to bring *France* to such a Peace as you pleased, and how much it was your Interest to leave *Flanders* safe ; and many things upon that Theam, that your Majesty hath hear'd enough of before from *Monsieur Van Beuninghen*. The End was, that he would expect to know your Majesty's Mind upon his last Letter,

to w^{ch} he could add nothing till then. And I thought your Majesty by this Account, and the knowledge of your Mediation being accepted now by all Parties, would the better resolve what step to make next, in this Matter; which was the Occasion of this Trouble : It is already too long, but must not end without the Marks of that Devotion wherewith I am,

S I R,

Your Majesty's Most

Loyal and Most

Obedient Subject, and

Most Humble Servant.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Dec. 4. S. N. 1674.

My LORD,

THE Unkindness I complained of from your Lordship, in giving me no knowledge before-hand of my Lord *Lad-timer's* Journey, has been by his Lordship fully made amends for since: When upon his Arrival he was so kind as to come straight away to my House, as to his own, and use it so, as he at least makes me believe; which I shall, I am sure, love him for as long as I live, and serve him as far as I shall ever be able, both for your Lordship's sake, and for his own. I waited upon his Lordship to the Prince, who received him not only well, but kindly; and I am sure will use him so while he stays in this Country. I knew the

other * Two Lords had no need of any Introduction, * Lord Arling-ton, and Earl of Ossory.

though they were pleased to desire it; and therefore by Agreement between us, it was excused; and the Two Conferences they have had with his Highness have been without my intervention, or any other part than what my Lord Chamberlain has

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since

since given me. By all I yet know, there is nothing deeper in this Business, than what your Lordship was pleas'd to tell me, so frankly and so kindly in the Letter I had the honour of receiving by my Lord *Lattimer*; for which I return your Lordship my very hearty Acknowledgments, as I am sure becomes me: And I may say very truly, that the Lights you pleas'd to give me there, were more than I have yet received any other way: For though I am told the main Errand of the Journey to be the same, as I receiv'd it from your Lordship; yet I hear nothing of a Letter from the Prince to *Monfieur Qayke*, having given a Rise to it, and if your Lordship had not told me so, I should be apt to doubt it, and to believe that other Circumstances must have had their part in the first Conception of this Matter. I find by the Prince, as well as my Lord Chamberlain, that what your Lordship says only, you believe, is true, of their having no Powers or Instructions written, but a Credential as ample an honourable as can be. And upon the first part that was given us hither of this intended Journey, I remember the Prince told me, what your Lordship says with more ground, that he was sure *Monfieur Ruigniz* had his part in it. For what your Lordship says of these two Lords Acquaintances
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and Interests so great with the Prince, having occasioned the Choice of their Person? All I know is, that if they doubted it, they did well to try; because Friends that have been long asunder, know not how they are together till they meet, especially if they parted last, no better than I know some of these did.

Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that this Business will produce no Effect at all, proportion'd to the Noise it has made both in *England* and here; and that it may not go much farther than Expostulations and Compliments on both sides: And perhaps if it were upon any great Business, the less of both might not be the worse: When I said Compliments, I intended not such Expressions of Kindness as are not meant, but such as are more or greater than there is any need of; and if what passes of this Kind have no farther End than I know of, I cannot tell whether there has been any great occasion for them; since the Prince cannot say much more than he has done to me ever since our meeting, of his Affection and Service to his Majesty. And on the other side I take him to be an unmovable Person in all Points of what he esteems his own Honour and Interest, and not to be talk'd into, or out of any Points, where he esteems either of them much concerned. G 2 This

This is all I can yet say upon this Occasion, and may be too much to have troubled your Lordship with, had not you given me the Encouragement. If I meet with any thing more important to your Lordship's Knowledge, I shall make use of the way you present me by a Servant of my Lord *Latimer's*, and should have been glad your Lordship had sent me a Cypher over, which might have been necessary upon some Occasions. My Wife is your Lordship's most Humble Servant, and acknowledges the Honour of your Remembrance: We are both so to my Lady. My Son will, I doubt, take notice of us no longer, having the Honour of being absolutely retained in my Lord *Latimer's* Service since his Arrival here.

I will add no more to your Lordship's present Trouble, besides the assurance that the Confidence your Lordship is pleased to use me with, shall never be forgotten, nor undeserved, as far as lies in the reach of so much Sincereness and Passion, as that wherewith I have always profess'd my self,

My LORD,

Your, &c.

To

To the KING.

Hague, Dec. 4. S. N. 1674.

May it please Your Majesty,

I Received so great an Honour by a Letter which my Lord Chamberlain brought me from Your Majesty, that I am sure I shall never forget it, whether I live to deserve it or no. Tho' his Lordship might justly have pretended to my Services here, from the Friendship between us, yet I hope Your Majesty believes your Commands are so Sacred to me, as to need no help from my Inclinations, to make them obey'd: And therefore I shall only say, That if his Lordship fails of any Assistances or Services that I can give him here, it shall be his own fault; since I resolve to go on as I have begun, in desiring from him the Knowledge in what manner, and to what degree he would use them. I esteem this Journey of so great Persons, and so much my Friends, the best Fortune, and most honour that could have befallen me in this Place, and hope the Success of it will be whatever your Majesty proposed to your self by it: And beg your Majesty to believe, that so your Business be well done, and

your Majesty grow as great, and as happy as I wish you, I shall have nothing left to ask for my self, by whose Services soever that be atchieved.

The two Conferences my Lord Chamberlain hath had with the Prince, have pass'd by Concert between his Lordship and me, without my Intervention, or having had other Part in them than what his Lordship has since given me. All the Light I have offered to give to a Person that knows his way so well, hath been only my Opinion not to go too far in Expostulations: For besides what I know of the Prince's Nature in that Point, I have observed them apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends.

The Knowledge of all worth your Majesty's Trouble from hence, will, I know, be transmitted from my Lord Chamberlain, and leave me no other Part than that of my Humble Acknowledgments upon the Confidence your Majesty has been pleased to express of me in so great Occasions, and the plain Offers of that very Sincere Devotion, wherewith I am, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most Loyal

Subject, and most Obedient

Humble Servant.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, Feb. 22d, S. N. 1675,

S I R,

Since my last I have received Yours of the 5th, which brought me a Copy of the Most Christian King's Answer to His Majesty, upon the Proposal of *Mauris* for the Place of Congress, and his Majesty's Commands how to proceed farther with the States in this Matter. The best Account I can give you of my obeying them, will be by the inclosed Memorial, which being the first I have put in to the States upon the Subject of his Majesty's Mediation, I thought might be fit to trouble you with; that so I might know, whether being left so much at large in this Commission, the Conceptions I have upon it agree as they ought to do with those of his Majesty, both as to the main Scope, and as to the manner and Circumstances of proceeding in it. One of the great ones, and most to be considered, I take to be that of persuading the Confederates, that his Majesty is as impartial as a Mediator ought to be in the Conduct of this Affair; and therefore you will find this Design run

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through

through the whole Contexture of this Memorial: The rest is, I hope, just what his Majesty commanded me to pursue upon the Point of *Nimeguen*, and the Instances as strong as I could make them; and may not possibly be less successful for the Pensioner's Absence, if the States think fit to come to a Resolution upon it without his Communication; which I may yet know before the closure of this Letter: In the mean time I shall give you the State as well as I can of the *Swedish* Mediation, in answer to the latter part of your Letter, and your Commands of doing all by Concert or Communication with him.

Hitherto he has always brought or sent me Copies of all the Memorials he has put in upon the Subject of his Master's Mediation; within a Day or two after he delivered them; but without any Communication before of what they imparted, though they have been many, since he knew and complimented me, upon his Majesty's Mediation being accepted by all Parties. I have observed the same Course with him, and still give him part of what passed at the Conferences between me and the States Deputies upon the Same Subject; and we live in all Points the best and the friendliest that can be together. But upon the whole matter, I take his Majesty's Mediation, and
that

that of the Crown of *Sweden*, to be different so essentially as well as in Circumstances, that I know not how they can be so absolutely joined as you seem to intimate ; nor whether it ought to be endeavoured farther than maintaining the best Correspondence that can be with them, and making as near as we can the same Pace, though separately, in the Course of this Affair.

For the first; You know, when the *Swedes* Mediation began ; We, and *France*, and these States were all the Parties in the Quarrel : That during the Mediation at *Colen*, by an Alliance with *Spain*, the House of *Austria* came with other Princes to be Principals in it : That after this Incident, though the *Swedish* Mediation continued, yet it reached no farther in the Negotiations of their Ambassadors, than the first Parties: And though it was endeavoured (whether it failed upon Punctilioes or more important Speculations) 'tis certain that neither the Emperor, nor the Court of *Spain* have ever yet been induced to accept of that Mediation. So that neither they on one side being refused by some Parties, nor the Pope who will be refused by others, can pretend to make the same Figure in this Business as his Majesty does, who is accepted by all.

In the next Place; though Monsieur *Ebernsteyn* has since his Arrival here, very industriously kept up the Part of a Mediator, by very frequent and voluminous Memorials which he has lately Printed all together; yet they have been considered by the States little farther, than either as general Discourses or Declamations upon the Theme of Peace; or else Diligences affected purposely to preserve the Figure of Mediation in that Crown with this State, while they were at first preparing, and since engaged in open Hostility with the Elector of *Brandenburgh* one of their Allies: For whose Defence, they knew this State was by Treaty obliged to employ all their Forces; and come to an open Rupture with the Invader.

Ever since I came hither, I have been frequently entertained by those of the States, and particularly by the Pensioner; with very sharp Complaints of the *Suades* towards them, and their open and avowed Partiality to *France*, in the whole Course of the Mediation. But more of the *Desbonnetete* as they term it, to continue the Offers and Paces of Mediator after the Treaties formerly concluded with *France*, their Money so openly received, and their hostile March into the Duke of *Brandenburgh's* Country. But after the News of
this

this last Adventure, the Pensioner, in the Head of the States Deputies, at the next Conference upon their Desires of his Majesty's proposing *Mears* ; told me, the States had at first ordered the same Desire to be made to the *Swedish* Ambassador, but had since resolved that should be omitted ; because they could not consider ~~that~~ Crown any longer as Mediator, after their being engaged actually in a War with one of their principal Allies, and upon Measures formerly taken with their Enemies.

You know since, how this Motion of the *Swedish* Army has been a blind sort of Business on both Sides ; they on the one Side apprehending the resolute Professions of this State to declare open War by Sea and Land, and not only to engage their Confederates, but endeavour it with the *Muscovite* too ; in case they did not retire their Forces out of the *Brandenburgh* Country ; have seemed of late very irresolute how to go on, or come off from the Adventure : And by a middle Course of only quartering in his Country, but attacking none of his Towns, and paying sometimes for what they take, that they might not be said to live wholly at Discretion, as in an Enemy's Country ; they have seemed to design the giving just so much

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Satisfaction to *France* as might preserve their Treaties with that Crown ; and so little Offence to the Confederates , as might keep off a general Breach with the Emperor, as well as *Spain* and this State ; and perhaps most of the Princes of the Empire too, in Conjunction with *Denmark*.

On the other Side ; this State, though they have from the first March of the *Suedish* Troops, declared positively to the Ambassador here ; that they would open the War unless his Master recalled his Forces out of the *Brandenburgh* Territories ; yet they have delayed it all this while, upon pretence of that Resolution's running the Circle of all the Provinces with some more than usual Delay : But in truth, that before they begin an Action of such Consequence, they may be first assured of their Confederates Intentions, take their Measures with them, for beginning as well as carrying on the War ; and in the mean time, give *Sueden* Leave to avoid it by recalling their Forces. As this Matter has played upon these Circumstances and Dispositions ; so you will easily imagine the Business of their Mediation has sometimes appeared alive, and sometimes dead ; and whether it be one or t'other, for my part I cannot tell. For
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notwithstanding what the Pensioner told me, as I before mentioned, and what I hear was replied at a Conference by the Deputies to the *Suedish* Ambassadors upon that Occasion; yet I find he still continues his Memorials in the same Style; and will I know, make all the Paces imaginable, to preserve this Figure of Mediation as long as can be done.

Now whether this continue or no; which yet I will formally ask the Pensioner at his Return, as you desire: Yet I doubt for my part, whether it will not weaken the Force of his Majesty's Mediation (which will chiefly consist in the Opinion of its being Impartial) to joyn it openly and formally with that of *Sueden*; which whether the War go on or no, will ever be interpreted not only partial to *France*, but even to be managed by the very Motions they shall receive from thence.

I am ever &c.

To

To the KING.

Hague March 22. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty,

I Have this Day received the Honour of a Letter from your Majesty of the 5th, for which I return my humble Acknowledgments and esteem it much the greater, for having been written upon a Subject, which I knew your Majesty would not treat otherwise than in Confidence; being indeed a very tender Point, and which touches the Strings; upon the good or ill tuning whereof, very much of your Majesty's greatest Concerns at this Time depends. I will confess that I was extremely surprized, to read what your Majesty says has been whispered to you, concerning an intended Journey of the Prince this Spring into *England*; and I should be extremely ashamed to be found ignorant here of a Matter of such Consequence, that were known so far off. I have very little Belief of Infallibility, and less of no Man's than my own: But I am as confident as I can be, of having any of my five Senses about me; that the Prince has
never

never had yet one Thought of such a Journey this Season; unless it had happened that the Peace had been absolutely made, which he has not lately had much Reason to hope for; and for the present, I believe he thinks no more of a Journey to *London*, than to *Venice*, nor indeed of any thing, but how to get out of this War with a little Honour and Safety; towards which, I am confident, he reckons upon pleasing your Majesty, as a much better and nearer way, than disobliging you in any kind.

This is my Opinion, and I have not yet been out in any of my Calculations here. But because I cannot reckon any thing to be neglected, that deserves your Majesty's Thoughts; I will at my first seeing the Prince upon his Return (which is expected after to morrow) let him know, that I hear such a Thing has been whispered to your Majesty; and how I conceive it must be understood, and will upon this Occasion talk it to the Bottom; If I find it needs, either from what I meet in his Discourse upon it; or can observe from his Countenance. But if I find it wholly as I expect, without any manner of Ground; I shall, with your Majesty's Leave, neither shew him your Letter; nor speak of it as a Thing Your Majesty
be.

believed, or reflected upon. And of all this I hope to give your Majesty an Account by the next.

I can easily imagine, what Errand the Whisperers of this Story must have pretended, to give such a Journey of the Prince; about the Time of the Parliament's Sitting: And I will not answer for Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* busy Talk at such a Season; though he may have as little Thanks for it here, as for all he has lately entered into of his own Head with Monsieur *Ruvigni*. But I should be very sorry to serve your Majesty in this Figure, upon a Scene where any Motions should arise towards the discomposing Your Majesty's Affairs either at home or abroad, or those Measures you shall think fit to hold, in a Point so material to the Happiness of your Reign. And on the contrary, I am pretty confident, that I could prevail both with the Prince and the State here, as to all that concerns themselves, to refer the Business of the Peace wholly to your Majesty, not as a Mediator only, but as Absolute Arbitrator, and without thinking of any other Recourse, but to your Majesty's Personal Dispositions, and Judgment of what you esteem safe for them and their Neighbours. And if the Point of Honour, and thereby indeed of Interest were not in it, not to abandon

bandon their Allies to whom they owe their own Preservation, and are tyed by so many Tresties; I doubt not but I should be able to send your Majesty such a Scheme from hence before I am a Week older.

If my Opinions are right, and your Majesty be so safe and so easy here, as I believe, it will then be possibly worth your Majesty's observing from what Quiver this Arrow came, and whether there be no Poison in it, that you may know the Hand another time. If I am mistaken, and there was reason for such a Suspicion, your Majesty I am sure has a very ignorant Ambassador here, and who has lost the Talent of serving you with the Success has formerly attended him; tho' I am sure he has lost none of that hearty Zeal, wherewith he has been, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's

most Faithful, &c.

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To

To the K I N G.

*Hague, March 25. S. N. 1675.**May it please Your Majesty,*

IN pursuance of what I writ last Post ; I waited on the Prince yesterday at his Return, and took occasion to tell him what I heard had been whispered to your Majesty about his intended Journey this Spring into *England*, without taking notice of having heard any thing of it from Your Majesty. The Prince told me, He knew very well what must be the meaning of such a Report : That he was very sorry to see some Persons about you resolved to do him all ill Offices to your Majesty, and endeavour to make things ill between you, let his Carriage be what it will. That, for his part, he would never deserve it, but he knew not how to help Peoples Talk : They might say, if they would, *That a Cow could catch a Hare* ; but he did not know why any body should believe it. I interrupted him, and said, He might be confident your Majesty would be the last to

to believe any thing of his Highness's Ill Intentions towards you in any kind : And that I was sure you believed nothing of this , whatever had been told you : That he knew very well how glad your Majesty would be at all times to see him ; but that it might be at sometimes inconvenient to you both ; and therefore Your Majesty was confident, that whenever he had any Thoughts of it, the first Thing he would do would be, to acquaint you with it, and know your Opinion, and your Pleasure upon it. The Prince reply'd , that he would be sure to do so whenever there was Occasion , but hitherto there had been none. That it was true, when my Lord *Arlington* was here, they talked sometimes of his going into *England* this Spring , in case the Peace were made ; or that if it were so far advanced, as to let him see it would be done, he should have been content to go and conclude it in *England* : But this was only talk'd at their being here, and that my Lord *Arlington* had first begun it, and put him upon these Thoughts; that, since that Time, he had never thought more of it : And that I can tell very well, as Affairs went, if he had the greatest mind in the World to go, he could not : And that if he could, he was sure he should never think of it, without first ask-

ing your Majesty's leave, and knowing that you liked it. With that he said in some heat, Would to God none about the King had worse Intentions to his Service than I have : But if he will not believe me, what can I do ? I would be very glad to see the King , and have but too much Reason to desire it ; but I have something else to do at this time than to think of such Journeys.

I tell your Majesty, as just as I can, his own Words, by which you will best judge of his Meaning : And upon this I told his Highness, I was very glad I was not mistaken in him : For upon hearing what had been told your Majesty upon this Subject, I had written to you the last Post ; and thereupon repeated some of the Assurances I had given you, both of his never having had any such thing in design ; and of his Duty and Intentions towards your Majesty, being in all Points what became him. The Prince told me, he was very much beholding to me for it, and swore he would always make my Words good ; and that he would never deceive you.

May it please your Majesty ; I had written thus far in the Morning, and thought I had very little to add ; but about one a Clock Afternoon, the Prince came to me, and sent for me out of my Closet, where I
was

was locked up. When I came to him, he made me Excuses, at first, in good Humour enough; but suddainly changing Countenance, he told me, he had receiv'd a Letter from my Lord *Arlington*, that he could not but come and shew me: For he knew not, for his part, what to say to it, nor what he meant by it: Thereupon he read it all to me; and upon that part which concerned his Journey into *England*, he said, His Lordship knew well enough how far that was ever thought of, for he was the first that put me upon it: Then he went on, and read a long Period in Cypher, that begun about *de Moulin's* being still about him, and fomenting the Designs of engaging the Parliament this next Sitting in the Affairs of *France*; telling him thereupon, his Highness knew best whether such Friendship were to be rely'd on, that were made *à coups des bâtons*: And that he knew very well, there were Discontents here as well as in other Places; and that, *Sion les touchoit on les pourroit faire saigner encore*. I repeat the Words as near as I can remember, because I know not whether this was written or no by your Majesty's Communication or Command; and the Prince reading it with some stammering upon the interlining of the Cypher, and yet with a good deal of Emotion; I will not answer

for every Word, ; but I am sure I am right in the gross, upon reading the last words, *on les pourroit faire saigner.* The Prince said, he understood this very well ; for it was the same with what my Lord *Arlington* told *Monsieur Reed* in *England* ; That if the King would go about it, he could make him be served as *Monsieur de Witt* was. Then he swore in a Rage, that he could not bear this Language from my Lord *Arlington*, nor live any longer with him as he had done. That under profession of Friendship, and of dealing plainly with him, he saw very well that he did him all the Mischief he could, and that he could bear it no longer. When I told the Prince that what my Lord *Arlington* writ was upon what others had said, and endeavoured to make Your Majesty believe ; he said, No, he believ'd it was my Lord *Arlington* himself ; and that he had made his Brother *Odyke* hinder *du Moulin's* going to *Surinam*, on purpose that he might still have that Pretext of doing him ill Offices to your Majesty. That however, if he had been such a Friend as he pretended, whenever any body else offered at doing him such ill Offices to your Majesty, my Lord *Arlington*, that knew his Intentions so well, should have given them the Lie, and have answered to Your Majesty for him, and
not

not gone away himself with the Belief of them, or write him such impertinent Language upon no manner of Grounds : Then he wish'd he might die on the Place; if he, or any Man he knew here, had the least Thought of making any Intrigues with the Parliament, or offering at any sorts of Application to them; or if ever he had thought or done any thing in the War it self, that deserved any such Language as this. But then he stopt, and said, he would write to my Lord *Arlington* what was fit to be said to such a Letter : But he would write to Your Majesty too, and desired me I would convey it to You, so as it might be delivered You in private; for unless he could enter into a personal Confidence with Your Majesty, he knew not how to live with You; for he knew not which of Your Ministers he could trust, since my Lord *Arlington* used him after this manner. I promised his Highness to convey his Letter to You; and after a great deal of Passion vented, and with all the Professions imaginable, not only of his own Innocence, but that no man should dare do any thing against your Majesty's Service, whilst he had any Power. He left me; and I thought it my Duty to give Your Majesty this bare Account of all that pass'd, which I thought of so great Concernment.

What is so to Your Majesty's will ever
 make me lose all other Regards. I told
 Your Majesty at my coming away, I
 would depend upon none but your self;
 When that fails, I know the way to my
 Garden again. In the mean time you
 shall be served with the Sincere and Parti-
 cular Devotion that becomes,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Loyal and most

Obedient Subject

and Servant.

To

(195.)

To the Governor and Company of Merchant Adventurers.

Hague, March 26. S. N. 1675.

S I R,

I Received not long since a kind Letter from you in the Name of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of *England*, and should be very glad to deserve the good Opinion you therein express of me, and of my good Intentions towards the Service of your Company in its just Pretensions here. It would be an Honour to me, during my present Embassy, to retrieve them, after what happen'd to their Prejudice before my last Arrival: As it was one to me in my last Embassy to reprove them, which I think indeed I may wholly attribute to my self. I am sure no man can be a greater Servant, and Well-wisher to all Designs of advancing the Trade of our Nation, than I; nor consequently, to the Prosperity of your Company, and of the City of *London* where it resides, and where
I esteem

I esteem it an Honour to have been born. But as to the Particular Branches of it, especially this at *Dort*, I dare not take upon me to judge how much the establishment of it in its former Constitutions, imports the Advancement of our Trade; because his Majesty and Council seem to have put some Discountenance upon that Opinion, by the Liberty or Connivance given for so many Years past to the interloping Trade, which makes it look as if the present Interest of your Company here, were no more than the bare Interest of some few Merchants habituated at *Dort*, and their Enjoyments of certain Exemptions, which are considerable perhaps to their Domestick and Personal Concernments, but very little so to the Wollen Trade of the Nation, in which they have but a very small share in proportion to what the Interlopers drive.

I may have leave to say, that in what Transactions have pass'd through my Hands upon this Subject, during my last and present Embassy, I have gone to the bottom of this Affair, and seen by what Springs it has moved: And being a very Plain Man, I will deal so with you in this Matter, and tell you, that I believe

lieve the Discouragements given to your Company in *England*, by the Liberties allowed the Interloping Trade, both at first raised, and have ever since fomented the Ill-Talent that you know has been born to it for several Years by this Province of *Holland*. For as to the rest of the Provinces, they have none at all against you. I believe the bottom of it here is, that they see plainly whatever Priviledges are allow'd your Company at *Dort*, will be given by the other Towns, either openly or covertly to all those Interlopers, who bring their Woollen Manufacture directly thither: And in this the very States themselves cannot hinder what each Town will do for their own Particular Advantage. And the Effect they apprehend from this is a general Encrease of the imported Manufactures from *England*, and thereby a proportionable Decay of their own; upon which the Interest of this Province very much turns: So that I have had it said to me almost in plain Terms by the Pensioner here, That if the King will forbid the Interloping Trade, and Restore your Company to its full Rights and Priviledges from his Majesty, they will do the same to all
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they have formerly enjoyed from the States.

When I have said this, I have told you all I know in your Affair, the States General having deferred their Answer to my Memorial, till the Representations upon it shall come from the States of *Holland*: But I have not told you all I suspect; which is, That in the present State of your Company in *England*, it will be very difficult to restore it to the former State here, both from what I have already said, and from the Constitution of this Government; by which it is very easy to prevent a Resolution of the States in any such Matter, because the engaging of one Town in a Province, or of one Province in the States may do that: But on the contrary, 'tis very hard to revoke a Resolution pass'd, because the Consent of all is necessary.

Upon this you will best judge what Reflections, as well as what Paces to make in your Business: And for my part, as my Duty must ever engage my Obedience to whatever Commands I receive from his Majesty upon this Matter, so my Inclinations will always improve it, all that may be, to the Service of your Company, which bears at least the Name of our Nation

tion and Commerce, tho' many would have it believed that neither of them are much concerned in it. I am very much so in the good Will and Opinion of so worthy and honourable a Society, which I desire you to let them know, and how much I shall, upon all Occasions, endeavour to observe them; being to them, and to your self,

S I R,

An Affectionate

Humble Servant.

To

To Sir *Joseph Williamson.*

Hague, Apr. 16. S. N. 1679.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge yours of the 30th past, but cannot take upon me to justify, or to clear any part of that *Paper* given me by the States concerning the Terms of a Peace; They would have been glad to have been excused from doing it at all; and when 'twas done, were glad 'twas off their Hands; and I suppose have thought little of it, either before, or since: I prest them to it, because you were pleased to prest me, but knew very well it could be nothing but a piece of Form, and that the Secret Hinges of such an Affair could not turn before forty People, but must fasten first between his Majesty and the Prince, and then pass the Forms of the States. His Highness is now perfectly well, has been up and eat Flesh these four or five days, and shifted to day; so that his Life may be reckoned much safer than it has been these seven Years. The Stories you say are much wonder'd at there, of his having been

been visited by the Foreign Ministers and others every day in his Sickness, were so far from having any ground, that there were but four people, besides the Physicians, that ever went to him; which were, the *Rhingrave*, *Monsieur Odyke*, *Monsieur Overkirke*, and *Monsieur Bentinck*, of which the two last were all that watch'd with him a Nights in turns; and indeed I never knew any Sickness of a great Man so well govern'd as his; for you know how apt they are upon these Occasions to be endanger'd by the officious exercise of too much Care and Skill. Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Ashton* arriv'd here on *Sunday*, and deliver'd their Letters that Night, but the Prince excus'd seeing them in two or three days, so as they are gone to *Amsterdam*. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* will I hear come hither either the end of this Week, or beginning of next; and I hear for a Secret, that the two Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, that is, *Cell* and *Osna-brug*, will be here too at the same time, upon an Interview with the Prince, in which the Marquess *de Grana* intervenes from the Emperor, to agree upon the Measures of this next Campaign. The *Danish* Ministers have received the Money, or the greatest part of it agreed by their late Treaty, to be paid them before they take the Field; that is, the whole *Quota* of *Spain* amounting to

8,5000 *M. Crowns* is paid by *Don Emanuel de Lyra*, and the *Quota* of *Holland* and *Zealand* is likewise paid ; but whether they will immediately break with *Sweden*, or stand upon this States doing it first, or at the same time, I cannot tell ; or whether this State will go so high or no.

I have one from you by *Monsieur de Bas*, who shall want no assistance I can give him here. I have likewise a Letter from his Majesty countersigned by you ; in favour of the *Elizabeth*, a Ship taken upon the same Pretence with the *Rebecca*, concerning which I wrote in my last, and desired the Declaration of his Majesty's Understanding that Article to include the Trading from Enemies to Enemies Ports : When this is done, I hope to retrieve these two Ships, if the Owners are not wanting to themselves in attending the prosecution.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servant.

To

To Sir William Lockhart.

Hague, Apr. 18. S. N. 1675.

My LORD,

I Am oblig'd to your Excellency for the Favour of one of the 5th past, with the Account of your ill usage on that side, in point of your Letters ; which methinks does not agree very well with the good Intelligence between our Two Courts, deserving more Confidence, and fairer Appearances as far as I understand. Your Lordship knows best the ways of redressing it, though the loss or delay of my Letters hardly deserve that Care.

The Tumult at *Bourdeaux* was in my Opinion very prudently appeased ; though I know not whether the Success or Example of such an Adventure may not stir Humours, or raise hopes of the same kind in other great Towns. I confess, as much as I have read and thought, makes me of Opinion, that those Governments are safest and happiest for those that govern, which are easiest for them that obey ; and which engage Subjects to love and support them,

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by the Opinion, they shall lose by any Change. And the contrary of this might be possibly felt in *France* it self, if ever they should meet with a Misfortune from abroad: But that is very unlikely from the present Prospect of their own great force, and wise Conduct, compared with the ill Concert and ill Success of their Enemies; and the last is like to continue as long as the first, which, you know, is natural to all Confederacies. Yet, whoever goes to Sea, or to War, runs a Venture; which is all I shall say of Matters out of my way, and my reach; and not trouble you with the great things said here by the Marquis de Grana, of his Master's Army this Year like to act under *Montecuculi* in *Alsatia*. All the News I can tell your Lordship from hence, is, the safety of the Prince; whose Illness has passed without the least ill Sign or Accident; and his Carriage in it with so great Equalness of Temper, and Constancy of Mind; tho' it be not a thing of moment, yet has much confirmed the great Opinion I ever had, of his Personal Qualities being very extraordinary. I believe he will be abroad to morrow, unless he keep in one Day to take Physick, which he is but hardly persuaded to.

Mr. Skelton and Mr. Ashton came hither on Sunday from the King and Duke upon this

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this Occasion of the Prince's Illness, but have not yet seen him, and will not return till next Week.

I am ever with great Respect and Truth,

My LORD,

Your Excellency's most

Obedient Humble Servant.

I 2

To

To the KING.

Hague, Aug. 13. S. N. 1675

May it please Your Majesty,

SINCE my Return to this Place, I have had two very long Conferences with the Pensioner, which I will not trouble your Majesty with the Detail of. The Issue was; that though they are grown here into better heart, by the Success in *Pomerania*, and upon the *Rhine*, yet I found him so sensible of the Hazard this State runneth in the Person of the Prince, and of the Advantage they will receive, by the *Guaranty* of *Flanders*, and defensive Alliance Your Majesty is resolv'd on with them, in case they come to a Peace by your Intervention: That he at length fell in so far with what I told him were your Majesty's Thoughts upon the Conditions of the Peace, as to assure me, that he would represent them to the Prince of *Orange*, with all the Advantage he could. Besides the Difficulties he made about *Burgundy*, in the Consequences of it, both to the Emperor and *Spain*; He fell on himself with great Perplexity, upon that of the Prince's own
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Patrimonial Estate in that County; and said, those Lands with *Orange* would give him too great a Dependance upon *France*; whereas he desired to see his Highness have all upon *England*, and none there. Upon the whole, we both concluded, that it was a Matter which could not be so well deduced to the Prince by Letter, as by Discourse; and that it were best for the Pensioner to find some other Pretence of attending his Highness, and as soon as he could. The Pensioner, though he agreed with me in it, yet said, the Prince was so unwilling he should leave the *Hague*, that he would not do it without first asking his Highness's Leave, which he would do by an Express immediately; by whom I writ likewise to the Prince upon the same Occasion, but referring all Particulars to the Pensioner, when he should attend him. We expect a Return of this Dispatch on *Thursday*; and whenever it comes, the Pensioner will away the same Day, and in the mean time start some Pretence, that may give no Jealousie to the Confederate Ministers here, with whom we agreed this Matter should not take Air, but by consent between Your Majesty and the Prince. I see more appearance of a Peace than a Truce; for I find the Pensioner as averse from this last, as inclined to the other. His chief Rea-

sons are, that there needs as much Negotiation to obtain the one, as the other. The Charge of a War will not be lessened by a Truce; and if the People here fall once into the usual Course and Security of Trading, they will not be prevail'd with to return again into the War, though *France* should insist upon the most unreasonable Terms.

For what concerns the *Swede*, the Pensioner is of Opinion, that nothing can be negotiated with them, seperate from the Confederates on both sides; tho' he saith, a Private Overture has been made, that in this Case this State will procure a Peace between that Crown and the Confederates; *Sweden* will employ not only their Offices, but their Forces too, if there be need, to induce *France* to a Peace, upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*, with an Exchange of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*. Whether this have any Ground or no, so much is, I think, out of doubt; that the *Swedes* have an extream Desire to get out of the War, and into the Mediation again, but will, I believe, find Difficulties in both. I have entertained Mr. Secretary *Williamson* by this Night's Pacquet upon those Matters which were pointed at by my Instructions; but thought it became me to trouble Your Majesty with
the

the Account of such as I had the honour of receiving from your own Discourses ; and chose this Conveyance by the Captain of the Yacht, as both surer and speedier too, if not hindered by cross Tides in the River.

I cannot end this Trouble without my humble Acknowledgments for that particular Confidence wherewith your Majesty hath been pleased to honour me, in my late Attendants upon your Majesty in *England* ; and which I am much prouder of, than I could be of any Titles or Advantages that are the common Objects of other Mens Pursuit and Ambition. I assure your Majesty, mine shall never go farther, than to deserve, or at least, acknowledge the Honour you are pleased to do me, by all the Services of my Life ; and by the most constant Devotion and perfect Trust, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Loyal and most Obedient

Subject and Servant,

To Mr. S-----y.

Hague, September 3. S.N. 1675.

. S I R,

I Writ to you from *London* two or three times, whether acknowledging any of yours or no I cannot tell; for the Thoughts of those common Forms enter not into our Commerce, farther than to make the coming Safe of what is intended between us. Therefore 'tis fit to tell you, that I had two from you while I was in *England*; one by Mr. *Greenwood*, and the last of *July* 21st. just before my coming away. I stay'd there just seven Weeks, which was much longer than was intended when I was sent for; as I must tell you I was, by the King, though I think not above two knew of it; and I was to make my Journey a Thing of my own Desire, and designed for my private Occasions; which you know I do not much Trouble my self about. The King happened to have no Business so much in his Head all the Time of my stay, as what turns a good deal upon my Hands; and so by falling very often into very long Conversations, and
privately

privately with me ; gave Occasion for a great deal of Talk both there and abroad, and Expectations of some very decisive Measures taken upon the Business of a Peace ; which when all is done, both as to Conditions, Place, Time, and manner of Treaty ; will depend much upon what shall prove the final Event of this Campaign. Things have hit something worse of late for the *French* than before : But the Armies both in *Alsatia* and *Flanders*, having been left by our last Letters in sight of one another, will tell us how the Year, and the Hopes of both Parties will end. Before this can come to you, 'tis likely you will hear the Success a shorter way ; for I send this by Mr. *Lock's* Conveyance, having found no kind of Encouragement to use the *French* Posts between this and *Paris* : and so intending this for no further Intelligence, than of what passes between ourselves ; that it self is nothing more, nor like to be, it seems, in hast than the very needless Assurances, of what I know we both feel at Heart, in the Continuance and Warmth of our Kindness and good Wishes to one another wherever we are ; and the Satisfaction we shall receive in the Knowledge of what becomes of us.

There

There stands not yet any certainty of the Congress, and till then I suppose I am fixed here: Whenever that happens, 'tis intended I shall make a Part of it, with what Company I know not; My Lord Bertley's Embassy into *France* being like enough to break that Designation. Mr. *Fenwick* has My Lord *Clare's* Regiment, and will find Advantages here if he deserve them; being the only *English* Man of Quality in the Prince's Service. I expect you shall be as good as your Word in writings, sometimes where you are, how you do, and think to dispose your self. I never wanted you more than I did all the Time I was in *England*; and never loved you better than I do, and shall do while I live.

S I R,

Yours &c.

To

To the KING.

Hague September 6. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty.

THE Pensioner came to me upon his Return from the Camp, and gave me this Account of the Prince's Answer, to the several Points I had discoursed to him here. First, That his Highness gave your Majesty humble Thanks for the Confidence you had used towards him, in letting him know your own Thoughts upon the Subject of the Peace ; which he would endeavour to deserve by communicating all his to your Majesty, upon this and all other Matters, as he would do to a Father. That he was very glad of the Intentions your Majesty express'd, to enter into closer Measures with him and this State ; which his Highness would promote all that could be on this Side : And that he esteemed this a better Guaranty for *Flanders*, than any formal one that could be given upon the Peace. And therefore desired, that the Project of such an Alliance as your Majesty will be content to make with them, may be agreed on

on as soon as your Majesty pleaseth; though you should not think fit to conclude it formally before the Peace, which yet his Highness rather desired; because after, there will be no way of keeping a Party in this State, from endeavouring to renew their old Measures with *France*; but letting them see they were already taken with *England*, and their Security sound with us, which they pretend to by the *French*.

That for the Terms of a Peace, the Prince for his own Part would be very well content to refer them wholly to your Majesty. But being with the States engaged to their Confederates, by Honour and Treaties, they were forced in some measure to consider what would satisfy them. That he doubted, as things now stood, they would not be induced to a Peace, without the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*, and the Restitution of *Charleroy*, *Aeth* and *Oudenarde*; as absolutely necessary to make some Frontier for *Flanders*. That if *France* insisted to have the County of *Burgundy*, it would find more Difficulty; and that the *Spaniards*, but especially the *Emperor*, put so great Weight upon it, that he doubted they would not only expect those three Towns; but likewise *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Lisle* and *Doway*.
That

That the Prince for his part, rather wish'd your Majesty would propose the Peace upon the first of these Plans ; wherein he had very good Assurance, you would be seconded by *Sueden* : But if you should rather chuse to have *Burgundy* left to the *French*, neither his Highness nor He believed the States would make any Difficulties upon it. And though he were very sensible of your Majesty's Kindness, in the Offers concerning his own particular Interest there; yet he assures your Majesty, whatever he hath or may suffer in them, that shall be no sort of Hindrance to the Peace.

That whatever Proposition towards a Peace your Majesty shall think fit to make ; the Prince desires it may be done, as arising wholly from your self ; without Notice of any private Intelligence with him : And he thinks the best way of doing it, will be at the *Congress at Nimeguen* ; where he doth not believe the *French* will make any farther Difficulty of sending their Ambassadors, when those of your Majesty shall be there ; and that the *Suedes* as well as the Confederates, will certainly send theirs immediately upon it.

This is the Sum of the Pensioner's Discourse to me from the Prince. And when I told him that I supposed his Highness meant, the Restitution of those three
Places

Places should be made in Exchange for
Alre and *St. Omers*, as was spoken of at
 my Lord *Arlington's* being here : He told
 me the Prince mention'd no such Thing ;
 and though he confess'd what had pass'd
 in the Winter ; yet he thought as Affairs
 had since changed, *France* might find
 Reasons to induce them to a Peace upon
 these Terms : Yet upon farther Argu-
 ment he said, that if your Majesty should
 think fit to propose an Exchange at the
 Treaty, he believed the States would not
 be against it. But he desired that what-
 ever your Majesty resolved on, might be
 proposed at the *Congress* ; and not be in
 the mean time communicated to Monsieur
 — but that if your Majesty desired any
 farther Lights from hence, you would
 please to receive them as you have done
 these ; assuring me that no Person but the
 Prince and himself had been, or should be
 acquainted with what had pass'd ; and
 adding that it was great Kindness in your
 Majesty to avoid the Noise which my going
 to the Prince would have made, since his
 own had made too much among the *Spa-
 niards* in the Army. Upon the whole, I
 find the Hearts of the Confederates are
 grown high with their late Successes, and
 with Hopes of greater before this Cam-
 paigne ends ; and that the Prince is very
 much

much bent upon having his Share in the Honour of it, either by a Siege or a Battle, which I believe we may suddenly hear of, and that *Charleroy* is designed. The Event hereof, as well as of the farther Action yet expected in *Alsatia* and *Treves*; will so much govern the Conditions of the Peace, that I do not see how your Majesty can at present, be Master of them, farther than by bringing it to a *Congress*, and making the Overtures there, according to the Posture of Affairs at that Time; when no new Successes on either Side shall arise in that Season to change the Scene. I can yet see no farther, unless your Majesty can think of any Temper, wherein *France* and the Prince may be like to agree before hand, which will depend upon the Opinion each Side hath of their Affairs. Your Majesty will guess at that of the Confederates by what I have written; and I hope, knows that of *France* by better Hands. I humbly beg your Majesty's Pardon for the necessary Length of this Trouble, and your Acceptance of the true Devotion wherewith I am and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most Loyal, and most
Obedient Subject and Servant.

To

To the KING.

Hague September 20. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty,

HAVING found the Pensioner sensible how little Reason this State would have upon any Successes, to change the Terms they proposed to themselves for a Peace, since they had no Pretensions of their own for carrying on the War; and having touched the same String in a Letter I writ to the Prince, upon the Death of the Princess Dowager. I received one yesterday from his Highness of the 17th, wherein were these Words; „*Je ne voy pas qu'avant que j'arrive à la Haye je pourrais faire quelque chose pour l'avancement de la paix, laquelle pourtant je sou-*“
haite passionnement sur le pied que je vous“
ay toujours dit. I should be glad your Majesty and the Prince were so agreed before a Congress begins, as to draw things towards the same Head in all Matters that shall be negotiated there: And I see no other

other difference than what there may be in the Value of the County of *Burgundy*, or *Alto* and *St. Omér*. I find them here of opinion, that nothing can be advanced towards a Peace otherwise than at a *Congress*; which they seem to ground only upon the great Variety and Number of Parties and Interests that are engaged now in the War. But I believe this proceeds chiefly from the *Spaniards*, who are extream jealous of all private Measures that may be taken between your Majesty and the Prince, upon the Subject of the Peace.

Your Majesty will best judge, whether you are likely to prevail with the Emperor to release Prince *William* before the Conclusion of a Peace; or with *France* to insist no farther upon this Point before a Treaty begins, and will please accordingly to apply your Offices towards some Way or other, of overcoming this Difficulty, which must be the first open Step that can be made towards the Peace, that so as little of the Season for a Treaty may be left as the Campaign will allow.

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I will not encrease your Majesty's
present Trouble, beyond the Professions
of that humble and hearty Devotion,
wherewith I am and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Loyal and most

Obedient Subject,

and Servant.

To

To the KING.

Hague, Septem. 27. S. N. 1675.

May it please Your Majesty,

SO Great an Honour as I received by a Letter from your Majesty, has made me equally sensible how much I am to acknowledge it, and which way I may best deserve it, by applying my whole Endeavours to what I find is so much in your Majesty's Thoughts. We are now so near an end of the Campaign, that I do no longer expect any decisive Action from it: And when all the Fights and all the Bonfires are done, I believe the greatest Effect of it will be best judged by the Winter Quarters of the *Imperial Army*. Whether Count *Montecuculi* will be able to gain them in *Lorain* and the upper *Alsatia* (as he proposes, and I hear has promised the Emperor) or shall be forced to seek them on t'other side the *Rhine*, which must happen, in case he does not master *Haguenau* and *Saberne*. For the Battlès expected either in *Pomerania* or *Flanders*; I am apt to think neither Party will seek them, without such Advantages as the other will not give; so as the Year may

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end

end without them. And your Majesty may already guess how the next Scene is like to open ; and upon what Foot the Negotiations of a Peace are like to begin. On this Side I find, the Overtures of them are expected from your Majesty (though I believe both the Court of *Rome*, and of *Sueden* may affect that Honour) and they are, I suppose, to be made by two different Motions at the same Time, the one publick, by advancing the *Congress* and some Proposition there (or middle Scheme between the Pretensions of the Parties) that may serve for a Ground upon which the Treaty may begin : The other private, by feeling the Pulses on each Side, and judging from thence whence the nearest Approaches are like to be made. For the *Congress*, your Majesty has all the Reason in the World not to send your Ambassadors, till you have assurance that those of both Parties will immediately follow ; and towards this, I see no other Motions to be made on this Side, than for your Majesty either to write to the Emperor, or to give me a Command to speak to his Minister here ; and by one of these ways either to make it your Desire, that in Consideration of your Majesty as Mediator ; he will make way for the *Congress*, by putting Prince
William

William of Farstenburgh into some Neutral Hands without further Condition : Or else propose, that he may be sent to *Venice*, upon Caution taken from the State, that if the Peace succeed not, he shall be returned to *Vicenna*.

For the Pulse on this Side, I will assure your Majesty it still beats very fast and very high, in all these Provinces towards the Peace; so that in case the *Congress* begins, and at *Nimeguen* as it is at present agreed (that is, in the Eye of these People) I think I might undertake to make them agree to your Majesty's absolute Arbitrage, in any Difficulty that might arise upon it. And the Suspicion of such violent Influences from the Bent of the People here, will make the House of *Austria* endeavour (though upon other Pretences) to remove the *Congress* to some remoter Place. As to *Spain*, I am not of the same Opinion; and find by my last Discourses with *Don Emanuel de Lyra*, what Reason the Prince had in his last with the Pensioner, to make so much Difficulty upon the Point of *Burgundy*; For when I began only to touch that String, by saying the greatest Difficulty would lye there, and that your Majesty agreed with the Confederates in the Opinion of an absolute Necessity, to make a Frontier

for Flanders. *Don Emanuel* interrupted me *briskly*, and said ; *Qu'on ne se flatte pas sur ce point, car nous perdrons plutôt toute la Flandre par la guerre, que de céder la Bourgogne par la paix.* However, I do not despair upon this Point it self, if your Majesty and the Prince should come to agree in it ; because I know how unwilling the House of *Austria* will be to break from this State, in the Course of the Treaty ; and that in all has passed of late between them, they have not so much considered any Advantages they expected from the War ; as what they might hope by closing such Measures with this State as might serve them upon all Occasions, even after the Peace. And in any new Conjunctions that may open when the King of *Spain* grows of Age, by himself or some settled Ministry to direct the Councils, and head the Actions of that Crown.

But this is the hardest of the Game : Whereas if your Majesty shall on the other Side find *France* disposed by the late ill Current of their Affairs, to come up to the Prince's first Project ; which was the four Towns for *Aire* and *St. Omer* : I shall look upon the Peace as made, notwithstanding any new Incidents that may fall in, either from the Empire or the *Dane*. I will desire your Majesty not wholly to forget

orget the Advantages that were offered you from hence upon that Scheme, of a Marriage between the two Crowns, in case any way should open towards it ; by the great Variety of Accidents that may yet possibly happen in the Progress of a War ; because in all Events, *France* with that may find an Issue with Honour, and your Majesty with Profit as well as Applause.

For that wherein your Majesty wishes the Pensioner's Eyes were opened ; I have often discoursed upon that Subject to him and others in the chief Direction here, since the Scene began to change to the Disadvantage of *France*. But they all answer, these Considerations will not be in Season till *Spain* shall arrive at the Terms of the *Pyrenees* ; beyond which if any Step should ever be made, they say the Interests of this State will change, and not before. But there is yet another Byas in this Matter ; and that is, the *Lowestyn* Parties being so much bent upon the Measures with *France*, which turns those of the Prince and the present Government here, so much more upon *Spain*. But these will lessen by nothing so much as by your Majesty's Advances into closer Measures and Confidences with them, and by that means taking off their Dependances

from the other Crowns, and turning them wholly upon Yours. All which lyes as I suppose, in your Majesty to do, at what Time and in what Degree soever you please ; as you may judge by the last Account I gave of the Prince's and Pensioner's Discourses upon this Subject.

I am to beg your Majesty's Pardon for this Length, which I have been engaged in, by the Desire of giving what Lights I thought might be necessary now at your Majesty's Entrance upon this great Work of the Mediation ; I am and shall be all my Life,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Loyal and most

Obedient Subject,

and Servant.

To

To the KING.

Hague, Nov. 18. S. N 1678.

May it please Your Majesty,

Since the Prince's Return I have had two large Discourses with his Highness, and shall give your Majesty only the summ of what pass'd, not troubling you with the length of many Circumstances. The Prince received the Assurance your Majesty was pleas'd to give Him in some Lines of your own hand, with very great Sense of so much Kindness; which He said He had all the Reason that could be to believe from those Expressions, and would ever deserve them the best he was able.

Upon the Subject of the Peace, he was at my first Audience, dryer and more careless than I ever found him last Winter, or Spring. He said, it was out of his Head at present : That we should find the *Spaniards* much stiffer than six Months ago : That *Montecuculi's* Desire of going to *Vien-na* had hindred his taking up Winter Quarters in *Alsatia*; and some Difference between himself and the *Spaniards* had spoil'd the Effect of this Campaign, without which

it might have gone far towards a reasonable Peace. That he saw the only way of making the War in *Flanders*, would be with two separate Armies, which might be compass'd next Campaign. And that if the Forces of *Lunenburg* and *Munster* could clear *Bremen* of the *Swedes* this Winter, he believed *France* might have their Hands full next Spring.

All his Discourses being of this kind, I thought not fit to pursue them far the first time: But yesterday at a second Audience I resolv'd to bring it to some Point; and desired his Highness to tell me, not what he thought of *Spain* or the Empire, but upon what Terms he himself would be content to see the Peace made, and to fall into a Concert with your Majesty for effecting it; which I knew you would expect some knowledge of by this Post. He said, at first, it was a hard Question, and that he would think of it: But when I press'd him hard, he said at last, He found the *Spaniards* so difficult upon *Aire* and *St. Omer*, which he had first thought of upon an Exchange; that for his part he would be content with the quitting of *Burgundy*, if the *French* would give two Towns more in *Flanders* than those Four Your Majesty propos'd; that is,

Tour,

Tournay and *Douay* ; because he believed *France* would make more difficulty of *Liste*. And since Your Majesty first made your Scheme , the *Swedes* had lost so much, that this, he thought, might very well be given in their Consideration. After much Reply and Argument , all I could clear , by this Discourse , consisted in these Two Points : That the Prince does not think fit the Peace should be stopp'd by Pretences of the Princes of the Empire to retain their present Conquests upon *Sweden* ; and that he will be content to yield the Point of *Burgundy* , if the Restitution of Places in *Flanders* may be enlarged as an Equivalent to it ; and for the rest , the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle* : So that between your Majesty's Thoughts , and those of his Highness , There will be the Difference only of a Town or two more or less : By which Your Majesty will be able to judge in what Compass this Matter will turn when it comes to a Treaty.

I am sensible of having given Your Majesty too many and too long Troubles of this Kind, and will not therefore

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fore lengthen this beyond the Professions of that constant and sincere Devotion, wherewith I am and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Majesty's Most

Loyal and Most

Obedient Subject,

and Servant.

To

To Sir John Temple.

Hague, Decem. 12. S. N. 1675.

S I R,

I Have seldom troubled you since my last Return out of *England*, leaving it to my Sister to entertain you with any thing that is Domestick, and to the Paper that is usually sent you, to inform you of common Occurrences: And little of Negotiation having lately passed here farther than the Formal Progress of the King's Mediation, in proposing, and at length fixing the Place of Treaty to be at *Nimeguen*, which you desire to know the Reasons of.

I propos'd this Town to the King, and His Majesty to the Patties, not as a Matter of Choice, but almost of Necessity; for the Emperor would not send his Ambassadors to any in the *French* Territories or Conquests; and the *French* would not send theirs to any in the Jurisdiction of the Confederates; so that we fell at first here into the Thoughts of *Bazil* or *Hamburg*, but many Inconveniencies were found in both; and *France* upon the hopes of falling into particular Measures or Treaties with some
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of the Confederates, was content this last Year with any Difficulties that might keep off a general Congress, which was likely to unite their Interests rather than seperate them. And the Confederates on the other side upon the Confidence of their great Numbers and Forces, had a mind to see the Events of the Two last Campaigns, before they fell into any serious Thoughts of either Peace or Treaty : And so his Majesty's Offers of Mediation have continued now a Year and a half without any Effect, farther, than being at length accepted by a ll the Parties.

The ill success of the *French* Arms in the unvaluable Loss of *Monfieur Turenne*; the Defeat of *Monfieur Crequi*; the taking of *Treves*, and the ill Condition of the *Swedish* Affairs; but most of all, the stanch Resolutions of the Confederates to avoid all Separate Treaties; have, I suppose, inclin'd *France* to set on foot the general one, by the Offer they made of sending their Ambassadors to any Town in four of the Provinces belonging to the States; which gave some Ease in that first Pace of proposing a Place for the Congress, which might be generally accepted.

Yet the Confederates were not without their Difficulties upon this Point. They
suspected

suspected the Intentions of the *French* in this Overture it self, as a piece of Compliment and Cajolery to this State; whose Dispositions towards the Peace they knew to be different from those of all the other Confederates: They apprehended very real Effects upon the Issue of it, by the Practices that might be carried on in these Provinces by the *French* Ambassadors and their Instruments, in such a Concourse of Strangers as a general Treaty was like to draw into them. Upon this Ground the *Imperial* and *Spanish* have violently opposed the accepting this Offer from *France*, and would have drawn the Treaty to *Francfort*, *Cologn*, *Basil* or *Hamburg*, rather than into any of these Provinces.

The Prince of *Orange* himself, and the Pensioner here, with others of the States had so much of Jealousy in the Matter, that they would rather have chosen the Treaty in another Country, and would by no means hear of either *Utrecht* or *Breda*, in regard of their Vicinity to the Heart of this Province, where the Pulse beats higher towards a Peace, upon the Interests of Trade, than in any of the rest. But all of them were sensible that it would not be borne by the People here to refuse this Offer of *France*, and thereby reject the Treaty on this side, which seemed by

it

it to have been so much advanced on the other.

From these Reasons we fell into the thoughts of some Town in *Gelderland*, and the most remote from hence, as the easiest to be accepted by the Confederate Ministers; which fixed the Proposition at length upon *Nimeguen*: Tho' indeed the very Situation of it, as a Center between *Spain* and *Sweden*, the Eastern Parts of the Empire, and *England* (which are all to have parts in the Treaty) made an Appearance of some Convenience as well as Necessity in the Choice.

You will have known from *England* sooner than from hence, that I am designated by the King for one of his Ambassadors in this Mediation: And I begin accordingly to turn my Thoughts and Affairs towards that Remove; which, as to the Air, being much dryer than this, I do not dislike. As to the Business, I expect an Increase of Trouble and Expence, as well as Honour; I remove my whole Family, put off my House here, and have fixed already upon one at *Nimeguen*; for which, with Stables and Out-Houses necessary to it, I am like to pay a Thousand Pounds a year; which is but a part of those Exactions like to be practised there upon this Occasion, and which cannot be remedy'd by this State; where

where the Magistrates of each Town have a Jurisdiction uncontrollable by the States themselves, either General, or Provincial, and are like themselves at *Nimeguen*, to give us no Remedy in this Affair which they are all concerned in.

What Prospect there is of a Peace like to result from this Congress, upon what Terms; or what Time; is very difficult to tell you; the Delays of it must be such as the Parties please, it being in the power of either to raise them upon the formal or substantial Parts of the Negotiation. The Conditions to be first proposed will be distant enough; because they are like to come from all the several Parties; tho' some of them would be glad his Majesty, as Mediator, would draw the first Scheme; according to what he shall esteem most just and agreeable to the common Interests of *Christendom*. And they doubt not but whatever Peace his Majesty should propose, he may do it in such manner as to make it easily accepted by all Parties, and take upon him to be the Arbitrator as well as Mediator in this great Affair. But for ought I see, our Councils are fixed to act no such Part; so as the Mediation will not at all lead, but follow the Dispositions of the Parties, as these I suppose will do the Events of the War, since no

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Suspension

Suspension of Arms is like to be agreed during the Treaty.

The present Dispositions, I think, are these: *France* will pretend to all their Conquests both of the last War and this; but would, at present, be content, I believe, to part with a Town or two in *Flanders*, so as they may keep *Burgundy*; and will make no Difficulty to leave the Empire and this State as they were when the War began (after all this Expence of Blood and Treasure.) *Spain* seeing so many Confederates united in their Quarrel, and engaged to make no Peace without their Consent, reckons upon no less than the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and would keep off this till some Successes of the Confederates Arms may make way for such Conditions. The Emperor finding this War has almost united the Empire in the Interests of the House of *Austria*, and drawing Money from these States as well as from *Spain*, is very unwilling to lose the Conjuncture, and therefore would be glad to have the War go on; and so will not only insist upon the Restitution of *Luxemburg* and *Philipsburg*, but Reparation of Damages to the Princes of the *Rhine*. These States ask nothing for themselves but the Restitution of *Mastricht*, and of Commerce as it was before the War; but think it necessary, for their own Safety, that a good Frontier

Frontier be left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, and so will endeavour to have five or six good Towns restored there, in exchange for *Burgundy*, which they are less concerned in. But all the Allies agree in repossessing the Duke of *Lorain*; which is a Matter that *France* is most reserved in, as having no pretence either of Right or Conquest there, and yet justly esteeming it a Matter of more Importance to them than all the rest; considering not only the Force and Riches of that Province, but the Situation of it, and the absolute Engagements of the present Duke to the Interests and Person of the Emperor. If these Points could be agreed, nothing that concerns the new Quarrels in the *North* would, I believe, hinder the Peace: But upon the present State of the War and the Mediation, I do not see any sudden Issue very likely by a Treaty: And how the Events of another Campaign may raise the Hopes or Fears, and thereby change the Interests and Pretensions of the several Parties, no man can conjecture. In the mean time I would not leave this Place, nor end the Year without giving you this general Scheme, by which you may the easier judge of the Motions you shall hear of in the Course of the Treaty or the War; since you are pleased to say it will be a satisfaction to you. I know it will be so, to

hear we are all well at present here. My Wife intends to make a Step into *England* about the time I shall go to *Nimeguen*, but to return to me there within a Month or two. My Son, I hope, entertains you often from *London*, as my Sister does from hence, which allows me to trouble you less.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your most Obedient

Son and most

Humble Servant

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Jan. 17. S. N. 1676.

My LORD,

I Receiv'd the Honour of a Letter from your Lordship the beginning of this Week by Mr. *Widdrington*, who shall not fail of any Services I can do him here, as I have already assured him, and desired him to let me know all Occasions wherein he thinks he can make use of me. I had the Opportunity of bringing him to his Highness, who dined that day with me; and to give him the better Entrance, I shewed the Prince your Lordship's Letter. He read it, and smiled at the latter part of it; but when he had done, he came to me, and desired me to remember his Service to you, and assure you how much he valued your Recommendation; and that Mr. *Widdrington* should find it by all the Encouragement he could give him. After a little Stop, he said: And for the latter part of his Letter, pray tell him, they are very much mistaken; and then pausing a little, as if he were concerned at it; he said; God! I never said any thing to *Sylvius*, that I was

not content my Coachman should know: I
 laughed, and asked him, And would you
 have me tell my Lord Treasurer to too?
 He turned about, and said resolutely, Yes;
 do. I entered no farther into this Matter;
 nor should have said this, but that the
 Prince bid me; and seemed concerned that
 what your Lordship writ upon that Subject
 should be believed there. The use I made
 of it was a little more important; which
 was, to go since to the Prince and tell him;
 That being now upon my Journey to *Ni-
 meguen*, and having been here a Year and
 half, his Majesty would have Reason to
 think he had been very ill served, if in all
 this time I were not able to give him a
 right and full Account of his Highness's
 Intentions in what his Majesty concerned
 himself, but that the King should be still
 in pain to know them, and casting about
 by what hand to find them out. The Prince
 said, He could not say more to me than he
 had said to me already, and written to the
 King upon all Occasions; and that he
 could not tell what more we would know
 of him, nor why *Sir Gabriel Sylvius* was
 sent over, when the Compliment might
 either have been spared, or made by
Mr. Skelton as he passed by. However, I
 endeavoured to draw what new Light I
 could from his Highness; and comparing all

all he had said, with all that I had gathered from the Current of his former Discourses to me, upon any Points wherein I thought his Majesty was concerned to know the bottom of all he means; I thought fit to set it down in Writing; and that I might know whether I had in every thing rightly apprehended him or no, I shewed it him, and send your Lordship the Paper inclosed, and what his Highness said to me upon reading of it.

I desire your Lordship will please to shew it to his Majesty, with this Account of the Occasion of it, which was given me by your Lordship: And for my own part, I believe this is what his Majesty must trust to as to the Prince's Intentions, and that no Talk or Reasoning will alter them, nor any thing else besides some new and great Accidents or Changes in the Affairs of the Parties now in War.

However, this need not discourage his Majesty from endeavouring to know more from his Highness by any other hand; tho' he said lately to me upon some of these Discourses, that whenever he could say any thing wherewith he thought his Majesty would be more pleased, he would be sure to do it by me. For the Truth of all this, if his Majesty desires to be further satisfy'd in it, I am very well content he should send

this Letter, and the inclosed Paper to the Prince, which will be the infallible way of knowing it, and without engaging me further in the ill Will or Expostulation of *Sir Gabriel Sylvius*, or his Patrons; though their meaning to me, in the way they designed his coming over hither, and endeavoured it for three Months together, has been but too well discovered to me, as it has been, I am sure, very little deserved. He is not yet come, tho' I have expected him every Day this Fortnight past; and resolve upon his Arrival, to carry my self to him in all Points as becomes me to a Person sent by his Majesty hither, and give him any Assurances he desires me.

There is a Point of Instruction I received last Post from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, which I would likewise be glad his Majesty would please once more to reflect upon, as a thing that may possibly bring an ill Incident upon the Course of the Treaty. It is, That his Majesty's Ambassadors should expect the first Visit from all others, even that arrive after them at the place of Congress: And this is grounded upon an Instruction to those at *Cologne*, to give it in the same Case to the *Swedes* as then Mediators, and upon their having actually done so. Now the *Dutch* Ambassadors on the contrary arriving after the *Swedes* at *Cologne*,
received

received, without any difficulty, the first
 Visit from them; and thought all others had
 done so too: And it appears by our Amba-
 ssadors Journal; that tho' they did it, yet
 the *Swedish* Ambassadors intended it first to
 them, and had accordingly sent a Gentle-
 man to ask an hour of them. Now there
 is a great deal of difference between what
 is voluntarily given, and what is of due
 demanded. And tho' the *Dutch* Ambassa-
 dors are resolved to do it, yet if those of
 the Emperor, or the other greater Crowns
 should make a Difficulty, as I foresee they
 may, the Congress might be *accroché de*
Ceremonies between the Parties and Media-
 tors, whose Business it is to prevent or
 compose them between the Parties them-
 selves. Besides, this State has resolved to
 look upon *Nimeguen* not only as a Neutral
 Town during the Treaty, but in a manner
 to put it into the Hands of the Mediators,
 by ordering both the Commander and Ma-
 gistrates to take Orders from them upon all
 Emergencies: So that it seems to belong
 to them, not only as Mediators, but as
 Persons at home, to do the honour of the
 Congress to those that arrive after them.

It will be a troublesome thing, I doubt,
 to his Majesty to give very particular In-
 structions upon every Point of Ceremony
 that may arise: And therefore, when he
 resolves

resolves upon this, I know not whether the easiest will not be, to send us one general Instruction, commanding us to avoid all, as far as we can, both between the Mediators and Parties, and between the Parties themselves; and when that cannot be, to leave it to us upon the Place, to act in point of Ceremony by consent, as we judge best for his Majesty's honour, his Ends in the Mediation, and the Practice of other Princes but particularly that of the Treaty at *Cambray*; of which *Sir Lionel Jenkins* is so well informed.

I humbly beg your Lordship's Pardon for so long a Trouble, which I should not have given you, had not I thought it necessary for his Majesty's Service: And you will forgive me the easier, because I am so much what shall be ever,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

most Faithful, &c.

The

The Paper Inclosed.

Hague, Jan. 17. S. M. 1676.

AS far as I can any way discover of his Highness's Intentions, they are these.

First, as to his Majesty, to live always not only with the Duty and Respect that becomes him, but with all the Kindness and nearest Conjunction of Interests that can be, while his Majesty pleases to continue the Desires of it; and that Affection which he has profess'd to him by so many Letters, and so many several Hands, and now lately by Sir *Lionel Jenkins*.

As to the Peace; the Prince says to me upon all Occasions, that he for his own part, would be very glad to make it upon any Terms his Majesty should think fit; if his Majesty can prevail with *Spain* to consent to it, which his Highness doubts, he himself shall not be able to do; and he finds this State so far obliged to that Crown, both by their Treaties, and for their Assistance in their late Extremities; that he does not see how they can break from them, or if they should, who would afterwards trust them.

That

That the greatest Testimony his Majesty can give his Highness of his real Kindness and good Will to him, would be to bring him out of this War with some safety to his Honour, and to his Country; and thereby to shew the World, that as none of his Majesty's Allies were nearer to him in Blood, nor truer to him in Affection; so he considered none of their Interests more than his in this present Quarrel.

That the best way to this that his Highness can think of, in respect of the Honour of *France*, and his Majesty's particular Advantage, as well as the Certainty of a sudden Peace, was that which had some time since been mentioned to his Majesty, of effecting a Match between the King of *Spain* and *Mademoiselle*, with the Conquests since 1666 for her Dowry; and in this Case; his Highness would undertake for such a Present, as the Pensioner then spoke of to his Majesty, and doubted not to persuade *Spain* to do as much. But if this could not be, then he saw no way left, but for his Majesty to dispose *France* to restore those Towns in *Flanders*, which were necessary to leave the *Spanish* Netherlands in a Condition of Defence; Upon which his Highness, and this State would use their utmost Endeavours

yours to incline *Spain* to a Peace. And his Highness says upon all Occasions, that he is sure, his Majesty may do either of these whenever he pleases, and without any Difficulty at all ; and he believes without going against any Interests of his own or his Kingdoms.

That if neither of these can be compass'd, and *France* resolve to have no Peace, but upon the Foot of Affairs as they stand at present ; and his Majesty will only consider their Possession, and not the Justice of it, or Interest of *Christendom* in it. His Highness says very plainly, that though he wishes his Majesty all the Glory that can be, by the present Mediation ; and this State will contribute all they can towards it : Yet for his own part, he sees no Remedy but that they must try the Fortune of another Campaign ; in which he hopes so to behave himself, as that his Majesty shall not be ashamed of him ; nor at all lessen the Kindness or good Opinion, he has hitherto expressed for him.

Having read this Paper to his Highness, and asked whether I had apprehended him right : He said, so right, that if you had been within him, you could not have
done

done is better: And if I were the best
Catholic in the World, and you were my
Confessor, I could say no more to you.

I asked: But can you say no more to
any other Man: His Highness answer-
ed; I would not say so much to any
other, but can say more to no Man.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Mace Jan. 24. S. N. 1676

My LORD,

IN my last of this day fennight I endeavoured to give your Lordship a full Account of the Prince of Orange's Intentions, which his Majesty was it seems, still in pain to know. Since that time Mr. Skelton arriving here, and telling me (as well as the Prince) several Things the King had said to him upon that Subject; has given me Occasion to add something upon it, to the end his Majesty may in all Points know the very Bottom of it, and take his Measures accordingly: For as far as I understand, all Matters are carryed on according to the Personal Dispositions of the Men that are at the Head of them; and the Prince is a Man as difficult as ever I knew, to be Talk'd either into or out of any thing wherein he thinks his Honour or Interest concerned.

Mr. Skelton told the Prince, that his Majesty knew very well there were some *little People* about his Highness, that endeavoured to persuade him, the King had not that Intention for him he profess'd;
at

at least, not so much as for ~~himself~~ I assured him of the contrary, and that his Majesty would shew it by the refusal he intended to take with him after the Peace was made. Upon the first Words the Prince answered, that he desired nothing in the World more, than that the King should have the Kindness for him he profess'd. Mr. Shelton, I remember, made some Reflexions to me; and thought it founded as if the Prince doubted it. And I remember Sir Linnel Jenkins upon his several Discourses with his Highness said, he doubted the Prince had something lay at Heart. I will first tell your Lordship, that now *Moulin* is no longer about the Prince; I do not suspect any others I see near him, of the Design to sow ill Impressions of his Majesty's Intentions; nor do I really think he has any further than might be gathered from his Discourses in my last Paper: That is, he believes his Majesty will not for his sake, break any of the Measures he has of late been taken with *France*. He thinks some Partiality is shew'd in the Business of the *Lords*; and is troubled that his Majesty will not bring him out of this War with some Honour, which he believes may be done (as he often says) with a Word speaking. And whereas Affairs stand in *Christendom*, *France* cannot

cannot refuse any thing his Majesty shall desire. And from these Impressions he says upon Discourse, that Effects only, and not any Words or Expressions can remove him.

Mr. Skelton told me (and I suppose the Prince too) that his Majesty would undertake for any Conditions upon a Peace that the Prince should propose of Advantage to himself. I have often talked with his Highness upon that Subject ; and on Occasion of Monsieur *Ruvigni's* proposing his Master buying all his Lands in the County of *Burgundy*, even at a Value unreasonable ; I have ever found him so cold upon this Subject, that in short nothing will be fastened on him. And I remember at last he told me, that he knew to another Man it would look like Affectation, and therefore he would not say it ; but to me that knew him so well, he would tell me very truly, that though he understood very well the Value of his Lands in *Burgundy* ; yet upon the Peace he would be content to lose them all to get one good Town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

Because I mentioned in my last Paper, an Offer that had been made his Majesty by the Pensioner, upon a Match between

M

the

the King of Spain and *Madamoiselle* with the *French* Conquests for her Dowry ; which was a Thing the Prince's Head has run mightily upon, as in his Majesty's Power to bring about ; though I do not think it at all likely, or that the restoring even of the *Suedes* to all they have lost, could either dispose *France* to it, or engage his Majesty in an earnest Pursuit of it. Yet because I doubt your Lordship has not heard any thing before of that Matter, when it went from hence in some of my Letters about a Year ago : I thought it was fit to explain to you so far only as to let you know, the Summ offered by the Pensioner to be paid privately upon it into his Majesty's Treasure, was two hundred thousand Pounds ; and the like Summ to be endeavoured by them from the *Spaniards* ; which the Prince as I said in my last, told me he did not doubt of. This is the utmost of what I can say upon this Subject, but I shall be glad if any other Persons can find out more of the Prince's Intentions, or any thing that his Majesty will be better pleased with. But I doubt they are these at present, and that they will not change by other means than
some

some new Accidents or Revolutions in
the farther Course of Time or War.

I ask your Lordship's Pardon for this
farther Trouble, and shall not increase
it beyond the Assurances of my being
ever,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most

Faithful and most

Humble Servant.

(164)

To the KING.

Hague, March 3. S. N. 1678.

May it please Your Majesty,

UPon an Occasion given me by my Lord Treasurer, in a Clause of a late Letter mentioning a Dispatch of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* hither; I thought fit by his Lordship's Hand, to give your Majesty the fullest Account I could of the Prince of Orange's Dispositions and Intentions in this great Conjunction.

I have since found, by Discourse with Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, that your Majesty thought his Highness might be made entire sensible of the Usage he has received, and ought to expect from *Spain* in this Confederacy. I did not forget among other Things, wherein your Majesty instructed me, to say a great deal to him upon this Subject. He still answered me, that he knew more of this than I could tell him: That it had gone so far in what concerned his Personal Interests with that Crown, as to make him tell the Duke *de Valla Hermosa* last Campaign; that he took this manner of Treatment from *Spain* as a great

great Honour to him. For he was very sure, at a Time wherein the least Step he should make awry, was of so great Moment to that Crown; they would not use him so, if they did not think him a Man of too much Honour to prefer his own Resentments before the publick Interests he was engaged in. And he added upon it, that they knew him, for he should not do it.

Upon another Discourse of the House of *Austria's* depending so much upon his Highness's own Dispositions, rather than those of the States, in the pursuit of their present Alliances. His Highness told me a Particular I had never heard before; which was, That one Part of his Oath as Statholder was, to take the Care of keeping the States to the Observation of their Treaties; which he was resolved to do to the best of his Power.

Last *Friday*, his Highness coming to me upon an Illness that kept me in my Chamber, told me all that had passed between him and Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, upon the Subject of the Peace; which all ended in this: That your Majesty desired a good Peace, and that his Highness desired nothing more than a good one, but not an ill one; which on the contrary he would hinder if he could. That all the Question was,

what was a good Peace: And upon that, had desired of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, as he had before done of me; to know your Majesty's Mind, and upon what Terms you desired or thought fit the Peace should be made: That Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* hath answered; You had given him no Commission to give that Scheme, and would reserve your self till the Treary. Upon which his Highness had replied, that then for his part, he would neither help nor hinder the Peace: That it would be made when one of the Parties were beaten out of the Field, but not till then; unless your Majesty would declare to all the Parties upon what Terms you thought fit, and desired to make it; and in this Case it would be done in a Week.

I tell your Majesty this, that for your better Light you may compare it with the Notes you receive upon this Matter, from Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*; and thereby know whether the Prince's Discourses are different to different Persons; which I believe they are not, however they may be represented. And I am confident, no reasonings can remove him from those Intentions I have always given your Majesty an Account of; unless the future Events of the War, or new Revolutions in the Confederacy should inspire him with new

new Thoughts, or involve him in new Necessities.

The Prince in his last Visit to me, told me, he believed one great Part of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* his Errand hither, was come out t'other day. That he had fallen into Discourse of the ill Posture of the *English* Forces here, the Necessity of a Person of Quality being at the Head of them; and my Lord *Ossory's* Desire to serve him in that Charge. That upon the Prince's agreeing in those Points, Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* pulled out a Letter and said, 'twas one he had thought of writing to my Lord *Arlington* upon that Subject; if the Prince approved it. That he read it to his Highness, who said he thought it was well; and that he might send it if he would. The Prince told me, he observed the Paper was so worn in the Creases, that he knew it was a Thing brought out of *England*; and not written here as Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* pretended; and believed it was not only to go to my Lord *Arlington*, but that it came from him too. That he believed, it was not a Thing your Majesty knew of; and observed a Clause in it, which he thought was put in on purpose to ingratiate it to your Majesty, though he had taken no notice of it to Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*.

I took this Occasion to tell His Highness; that your Majesty had talk'd with me when I was last in *England* of that Point, as of a Thing you would be glad of, and that might be provided for by private Concert between your Majesty and his Highness, upon the Conclusion of a Treaty you intended of a nearer Alliance with this State, immediately after the general Peace; which his Highness I find, thinks will be the proper Time for it; as I remember your Majesty thought so when you Discour'd it to me. I did not find any Reflections or Dispositions in the Prince, different from what your Majesty has reason to desire them upon this Occasion; and doubt not of seeing all other Measures easy between you, as case your Majesty can have so much Credit with *France*; or so much good Fortune, as to help him out of this War with some Honour and Satisfaction.

Your Majesty will please to use this Matter as a piece of Confidence from the Prince to me; though I thought it fit to be told your Majesty, because I remember how averse you were last Summer from suffering my Lord *Offory* to come over during the War; and I thought you might be engaged in what you had no mind to, upon the Prince's seeming to press you with

with all Circumstances of a new Strain;
 or else was dabled to refuse what he seem-
 ed so much to desire. Whereas the Thing
 has risen wholly in England, and not here
 as will be represented to you; so that the
 Matter is in your Majesty to do just as you
 please, without any Danger of disobliging
 the Prince, who is but passive in it. And for
 that Circumstance which I suppose, in-
 tended for value somebody or other, by the
 Shew of extraordinary Confidence, and to
 introduce some more private Negotiations;
 'Tis a Frise that I doubt, is not yet in Season
 to be handled, nor will be before the gene-
 ral Peace is made, which must make way
 for all other Measures between your Ma-
 jesty and the Prince; and I am the more
 of this Opinion, because I remember it
 was absolutely your Majesty's when I left
 you of late.

I humbly beg your Majesty's Pardon for
 this Trouble, and your Acceptance of that
 sincere and passionate Devotion, wherewith
 I am and shall be ever,

of the most humble,
 most loyal, and

most obedient Subject and Servant.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Windsor, March 24. S. M. 1677.

S I R,

SINCE my last of the 20th I have none from you, tho' a Pacquet be come in: And I expected from your last of the 3d, to know his Majesty's Mind in your next, concerning my formal proposing the late Expedient after the Knowledge given you of the first Reception, it met with here. I have been since endeavouring all I could to make better way for it, in case his Majesty continue his pleasure of having it done notwithstanding the former Discouragement. I have since talked with several that are in the Councils here, as well as with the Pensioner upon that Subject, but can gain no Ground with any of them. After all my Reasonings with the Pensioner, and telling him the Orders I had to make the formal Proposition, and desiring him to give a hand to it, as the only way left to keep up any Appearance of the Congress; he told me, that he could not undertake to say what would be the States mind, but he had very good Presumptions from

from knowing what it had been : For the time would be perhaps a more formal way of proposing it, yet *Monsieur Van Bouninghen's* was, as he writ them from the King's own Mouth, and thereupon was considered and debated by the States, and with their Allies, in the same manner that mine would be ; and therefore he was confident it could have no other Reception. For the States, he said, they would be very glad to receive it, or any other Advance towards the Treaty ; but that no one Minister of their Allies, but had express'd a dislike to it : And the Emperor's Resident had said, That besides his Master, he would engage his Head it would be refused by the Prince of the Empire. The Pensioner added, That besides the Delays of new Orders, to which they all had recourse, the Thing would be represented at the several Courts by the Ministers here, who were all prejudic'd against it ; and I might judge what was to be expected from the Impressions they were like to give. That it was impossible for the States to break from their Allies in this matter, having delay'd so long the Treaty at *Cologne*, upon the Point of *London*, when they were in so much worse Condition than now. That they had Reason to hope his Majesty would prevail with *France*, in a Point wherein he had always assured

assured *Monsieur Van Beuninghen* there should be no Difficulty. He offered to send me several of *Monsieur Van Beuninghen's* Letters with that Assurance; but I told him, I believed easily his Majesty did not foresee it, and was surprized with it when it came first from *France*, and sorry to meet with it. But the Case was now to find out an Expedient, since *France* was unmovable upon the Offices his Majesty had already performed in that Court; and that their parts were to consider, whether the Congress imported them so far as to pass over such Forms as were of no consequence at all to the substance of the Treaty; or whether they were content the Congress should absolutely break upon them. He answered me, that if it broke on the *French* side, and upon a Point so unjust, they must have Patience: That he saw very well *France* would forcethis State upon the Resolutions of continuing the War, which was both against their Mind and against their Interest; but if it must be so, and *Spain* would find a way to relieve them of the Subsidies they paid abroad; *Nous ferons bien voir à la France, que nous ne sommes pas encore hors d' haleine.* I tell you his Words, because they are of a Strain that I had never heard from the Pensioner since my coming over; all his Discourses having used to carry a Bent to the Peace,

Peace, and an Opinion of its necessity. But upon this Occasion, and some heat it gave him, he told me, They had ordered *Monsieur Hemskerke* to make the Proposition at *Madrid*, and he doubted not but it would be accepted, if ever the Gallions arrived, or they could be persuaded in *Spain* to cut off all Pensions for three Years.

I gave you a hint some time since of this being upon the Anvil among the Confederates, but did not imagine it would work up very fast; because I foresaw it must draw on a Guaranty of the last Conquests upon *Sweden*: But that will not need, if *Spain* should be able to pay the whole present Subsidies; and I perceive this State hath now a Prospect of other Measures with *Sweden* than they thought of at that time.

I have reasoned upon this Expedient likewise with the Marquis *de Grana* upon his Return from *Brussels*. He adds one Thing more to what I hear against it from the rest; which is, by asking how his Master the Emperor can leave such a Discontent at Heart, of a Prince to whom he hath already intrusted a great part of his Forces, and is resolved to commit the Charge of his whole Army this Year, in Case any Difficulties should happen in Count *Montecuculi's* coming to command it. I believe his Journey hither hath had ef-

fect

rest upon the hopes of the Confederates,
 by the Assurance he hath given them,
 that his Master's Army shall be in the
 Field, and encamped before the 20th of
April, and stronger than in any of the
 last Campaigns. What I believed of the
 Conference among the Confederates held
 at the time of my writing last, proved
 true: They agreed upon sending their
 Passports and a Ship of this State for
 the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries; tho' the *Dan-*
ish Ministers was brought to it & recu-
 sions. But I find here that *Monsieur Romph,*
 Envoy of this State at *Stockholm*, hath
 not only assured them, that they will
 send their Plenipotentiaries away to *Ni-*
meguen upon the Arrival of the Ship;
 but that they will come instructed to do
 all they can to procure a sudden general
 Peace; and if that cannot be composed,
 to make a particular Peace for that
 Crown. And he writes them word, That
 a Resolution of the Senate is already pass'd
 to this Purpose. Though this whole Mat-
 ter passeth between the States and *Monsieur*
Sylvercröon without any mention of *France*;
 and he gives it to me a very good Turn,
 of only hastning the Delays necessary to
 so long a Journey; and pretending to
 believe these Difficulties raised by *France*,
 upon

upon the Matter of Passports, may possibly have been occasioned, because they would not come to the Congress before the Swedes could be there: Yet I see plainly, the States reckon upon the Swedes coming to *Nimeguen*, though the Difficulties with *France* should continue; and consequently, that there will be a Congress this Summer, whether the *French* Plenipotentiaries come to it or no. And this I thought fit his Majesty should have early Advice of, that he might order his Measures accordingly, in case it should happen, and consider how far the Progress of such a Matter should be attended and observed by his Ministers; and whether with any Endeavours, either publick or private, either of assisting or opposing it.

The Emperor's Minister here hath in the late Conferences among the Confederates, made great Complaints of Mr. Skelton having received at *Norimberg*; the Orders sent him to make a Halt in his Journey, had, notwithstanding, gone afterwards from thence to *Ratisbonne*, and resolved to make his stay there; and had fallen
into

into many secret Conferences with a French Gentleman, who is a Minister of the Duke of *Beveris* there. That he had raised great Reflections among the Ministers of the Emperor and the Confederate Princes, especially upon observation that many of these Meetings had been in the Night, or else at Places out of Town, that seemed chosen expressly for the secrecy of them. The States answered at the Conference, That they did not think these Circumstances of weight to be taken notice of to his Majesty, as *Monsieur Camprich* desired. However, both the Prince and Pensioner told me of it, though without pretending to make any Complaints: And I told them my own Belief, that there could be nothing of this kind by any Commission of his Majesty's; and that what was, might be only Personal Acquaintance and Conversation between themselves.

Mr. Meredith told you last Week of eight Ships of War gone out of the *Texas* without any Noise of their Preparation or Dispatch. I hear certainly they are Twelve or Fourteen, and commanded by one *Bringist* (as I remember his Name is) who is Vice-Admiral of *Frixland*, and a very Bold Man. I am assured of a Thousand

To the KING.

Hague, March 27. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty.

I received by the last Letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamson* the knowledge of a Justification made him by a *Danish* Envoy at *London*, of the *Danish* Envoy's Carriage and Expressions here, upon the Proposal of Your Majesty's late Expedient transmitted by *Monfieur Van Beuninghen*. Besides what I have written upon this Subject to Mr. Secretary; I could not but take notice of a Proceeding so disingenuous as to let your Majesty know, that the Prince telling me how that Proposal was received by the Allies, added, that one of them said among other warm things; *Qu'on ne pretendoit pas se metre sous la tutele du Roy d'Angleterre*. His Highness said, he would not tell me who it was, and I reply'd, he needed not, for I knew the Stile too well, not to be sure it was *Monfieur Meyercroon's*: The Prince confess'd it was so, but desired me not to speak of it: I do it now only to your Majesty; and that your Majesty may see how far you may rely upon the Discourses of
fact

such Foreign Ministers, who say only what they think will please, instead of what they know is true. If your Majesty desireth to make any farther use of this than your own Information, I will ask the Prince leave to tell it ; if not, I hope your Majesty will manage his Highness's Credit with his Allies, and mine with him ; and that you will please to pardon this Interruption from,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Loyal and most Obedient

Subject and Servant

N 2

To

To Mr. Secretary *Williamson.*

Hague, March 17. S. N. 1478

S I R,

BY yours of the 29th past I received Orders to propose his Majesty's late Expedient formally to this State ; but upon the Prince of *Orange's* Advice, I gave you notice of my deferring it till his Majesty's Pleasure known, after the Account I had given of its Reception here upon *Monsieur Van Beuninghen's* transmitting it from his Majesty's own Mouth, and a formal Conference between the States and all their Allies upon it. By yours of *March* the 3^d, I received the Notice of that Account being come to your hand, but was referred to the next for knowledge of his Majesty's Mind upon it, after the producing it the *Sunday* following at the Foreign Committee. The *Tuesday's* Post after that brought me nothing at all from you ; but the next *Friday's* Post being now come in, brought me yours of the 10th Current ; which says not a word more to me upon this whole Matter, but that his Majesty expected the States, and their Allies Answer upon the Point.

Point. I thought it my Duty immediately upon receipt of this Letter, and consideration of the former Circumstances, to put in the Inclosed Memorial with the Formal Proposition of it to the States ; though I had in two late ones of mine given you account both from the Prince's and Pensioner's, and several other's Discourses, what success I had reason to expect, and consequently why I delay'd it till farther Orders. I know very well that the Count *d' Estrades* in his Ambassy here received twice positive Orders from the King his Master, to propose Things in his Name to the States, which had been grounded upon *Monsieur Van Beuninghen's* Discourses in that Court ; but the Count finding that they would be refused here, suppressed his Orders, and sent his Master Word that he had done so, because he would not expose his Majesty's Name and Honour in a Thing wherein he was sure to be refused. I know very well his Conduct was both approved, and he received Thanks for it from the Most Christian King. I confess mine should have been the same upon this Occasion, if I had not known my want of Credit to support me ; and that in such Cases 'tis fit for such a Man only to obey, which must be my part ; and therefore it will be yours to expect it from me, and to con-

der how I am instructed. I could not yet receive any Answer to my *Memorial*, because they would be sure to do nothing in it, without a Conference with their Allies, but shall press them to it with Diligence, and with Wishes, that I may find my self deceived in the Measures I have taken here, or given from hence in this Matter; though I do not remember to have yet failed in those I have hitherto given you, in any one Point, and should be glad to be put in mind of it, if I do.

For those given his Majesty by the Foreign Ministers about him, I think you have had some Experience of late how they are to be rely'd upon: And tho' they may be excused as proceeding from so good and so important a Design, as I suppose they have, of making their Court well to his Majesty, by such Advances or Compliances as have been lately among them; yet I doubt whether you have reason to ground upon them, so far in Matters where his Majesty's Service may be concerned.

I told the Prince, that *Don Pedro de Ronquillo* had approved of his Majesty's Expedient there; upon which his Highness reply'd, that it might be so; but he was sure he had written to *Don Emanuel de Lyra* in a very different Style. You now tell me, that the *Danish* Envoy there came on purpose to

to you, to justify their Minister here, upon his having been represented from hence to have opposed and argued against his Majesty's Expedient; whereas he never had express'd any Dislike or Prejudice to that Matter. I desire you will please to tell your *Danish* Envoy from me (at least if you think fit) that I will leave that Matter to be disputed by *Monsieur Meyercroon* with the Prince of *Orange* and the Pensioner *Fagel*; who both told me very much the contrary, and I own to have written so from their Mouths. And since he brings me into the Lists upon this Occasion; I do not only name my Principals, but I question not to find so much Credit with some of the Ministers of the Allies here, as to know some remarkable Words of *Monsieur Meyercroon's* upon this Occasion at the Conference, which will be very fit for his Majesty to know, whether he pleases to discourse them or no.

I will add but one word more upon this Subject, which is, that what Measures I give you of this kind, I have from the Prince's and Pensioner's Discourses, in which I have not yet found my self deceived, nor ever known their Opinions contested by the States here once since my coming over, in any Matter that concerned Peace or War, or any Foreign Alliances.

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On the other side, if you doubt of my giving you other Lights at any time than they give me, I am content you should send any Letter of mine over to them by another Hand, and know whether I have either deceived, or been deceived in my Reports from their Discourses with me.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To

(11897)
To Sir Joseph Williamson
Hague, March 21st. S. N. 1639

S I R,

IN my last Letter of the 27th, I gave you an Account of my having proposed his Majesty's Expedient formally to the States. But having done it after many Discouragements, in my several Discourses with the Prince, Pensioner, and other Ministers of this State as well as their Allies; and without any direct Orders from his Majesty, after he had received the Knowledge of those Discouragements: I was in some Pain to judge whether I had done well or no, till I was eased of it by yours of the 14th; which brought me his Majesty's positive Command to that purpose. I have yet no Answer to my Memorial, nor can expect it before this Post goes away; this afternoon being appointed for the Conference between the States and their Allies upon it. Yesterday was the Conference of the Commissioners with the Prince; who told me, the States continued of the same Mind they were; which was, that they could not break from their Allies.

Allies in this Point, notwithstanding their Desires to comply with any thing that should be proposed by his Majesty: He added, that the Ministers of the Confederates here, would, he believed, make no other Answer, but that having no Power to conclude upon such a Point, they would report it to their respective Principals, and expect their Orders. I told the Pensioner since my last, the Justification that had been made you there, by Monsieur Gioel, of the *Danish* and *Brandenburgh* Ministers Carriage here upon this Matter, and what I had written to you upon it, of my leaving Monsieur *Meyercroon* to dispute that Matter with the Prince and him. The Pensioner replied, that he knew very well he should not be troubled with any such Dispute; for neither Monsieur *Meyercroon* nor *Blaspyle* would say that to him, which they were said to have written into *England*. That the Warmth of Monsieur *Meyercroon* had been greater than any other Minister there; and Monsieur *Blaspyle* had that very morning told him again, that the more he had thought of that Expedient, the more he found it impracticable; because not only the Form of the Passports must be left to his Majesty, but in case of any Difficulty, or Breach of them which should occasion

occasion Disputes among the Parties, the Interpretation of them must be left to his Majesty too : Nor could it easily be found out how the Violator of any such Passport should be punished, which was proper for every Prince to do in case of his own Subjects, as 'twas a Right that could not be given up to another.

That you may have one Instance more, how ingenuously you are dealt with by the Foreign Ministers with you in this Matter : The Prince told me that Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* writ in his last Letter ; that he was encouraged to press this Matter still, by the Hopes I gave his Majesty that it would be accepted here. Whereas you know what the Style of my Letters has been upon this Subject, from my very first Discourses with the Prince, Nor could they have been true if they had been otherwise : Nor shall I ever give his Majesty any Representations that I do not think to be Right and True, till he shall please to tell me, that he had rather be deceived with false Lights, than be displeased with true ones.

Upon what you tell me of a Resolution of the States that came by chance to your Hands, bearing date the 20th of March, which was the Day the Prince first spoke to me of this Matter ; and that it would

would have been well that you had received a Copy of it earlier from my Hands. I will confess, I knew such a Resolution was taken, but not at all the Words or Particulars of it; and that about four or five days after, I saw a Copy of it; and in my next Letter sent you an Account of what was in it. But it is not a Thing you must expect of me, to be able to give you Copies or Accounts of such Resolutions, though you call them Resolutions of the States-General: Whereas though they pass for such, and have the Authority of them; yet they are so far from being so, that many times the States-General know nothing of them in three Months after they are taken. And though you are pleased to say, that Copy came to your Hands by chance, yet I am sure it must have come by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, or some others of the States Ministers in other Courts, or else by the Ministers of some of their Allies. And upon this Occasion it will be fit to inform you of a Constitution in this State, which I suppose you are not acquainted with; but which is become the chief Ressort of the Government here. In the War between his Majesty and this State, begun the Year 1665; Monsieur *de Wit* proposed and procured a Commission to be granted by the States-General

ral to eight Commissioners, of which, two
Holland, and one of each of other Pro-
 vince; who were called the Commis-
 sioners of Secret Affairs. These were then
 chosen of such Men who were perfectly
 in Confidence with him. Power was giv-
 en them by their Commission, to Delibe-
 rate, to Act, to Execute, in all Matters,
 that were referred to them by the States,
 with the same Authority that the States
 themselves could do; and yet the Liberty
 of doing it with such Secrecy, that they
 were not bound to give any Account of
 what they resolved to the States; but at
 such times as they themselves thought fit.
 The Matters referred to their Manage-
 ment, were all that concerned the War,
 any Foreign Alliances, the Proposals and
 even Conclusions of Treaties; in case
 they were esteemed necessary to be kept
 secret for a time, upon particular Reasons
 of State. All Resolutions taken by these
 Commissioners were signed by the Deputy
 as President, who was of the same Pro-
 vince with the President of the States-Ge-
 neral, who was the only Officer that at-
 tended these Commissioners in their secret
 Deliberations. These Resolutions so sign-
 ed were sent to their Generals, Admirals,
 Ambassadors, and other publick Ministers
 abroad for their Instructions, by which
 they

they acted; and were observed and obey'd as the Resolutions of the States General, who had indeed only the Name and Form, whilst these Commissioners had the whole management of Peace and War; and the disposal of Offices and Levies of Moneys remained (as you know) in the Provincial Assemblies. It was with these Men I concluded that Treaty in 1668, in five days time, which made so great a Change in the Measures of *Christendom*: And *Monsieur de Witt* there told me, that by this Institution, the Government had avoided those two Reproaches usually laid upon Commonwealths, of wanting Secrecy in their Councils, and suddenness in their Executions.

Upon the last Change of the Government here, and the restoring of the Prince of *Orange* to the Post of his Ancestors; this Institution of *Monsieur de Witt* was thought fit to be continued, but with this only Change; they were first to consult with his Highness before they pass'd any Resolutions; which, in short, has devolved the whole Power and Management of Affairs upon the Prince in conjunction with these Commissioners; of whom the Pensioner is one, and hath the Influence among the rest that *Monsieur de Witt* had before. This, as you may imagine, is stomach'd by many

ny in the Province and the Towns; but however it goes down, and being grown into a Piece with the Authority of the Prince, does not seem likely to change but with the Diminution thereof.

Yet the Pensioner in any difficult Cases sometimes summoneth the Ministers of the Twelve chief Towns in the Province of *Holland* to consult with; and upon the next Assembly of the States of *Holland* usually gives them an Account of all Matters that have been acted by the Commissioners since the preceding Assembly, unless they judge the reason or necessity of Secrecy to continue still. The Pensioner told me, he had last Week given them an Account of all that had pass'd in the Difficulties of the Passports, and especially that of *Lorain*: The Resolution of their Allies to stick to that Point of having that Duke's Style allowed him; and the Opinion of the Commissioners, that this State was bound by their Treaties to adhere to them in that Pretence. That the States of *Holland* had unanimously approved of their Conduct in this whole Matter.

Now the Resolution you mention of the States General, was a Resolution of these Commissioners (who are called sometimes of the Secret, and sometimes of the Foreign Affairs, which is indeed their proper Business

Business since the change of the Government, the management of the War being left wholly to the Prince), nor do I believe the States General have yet any knowledge of that Resolution; nor is to be had otherwise than from the Prince or one of these eight Commissioners, who are sworn to Secrecy, or some of the Ambassadors or Foreign Ministers of this State, to whom such Resolutions are usually sent; to some for Instruction, and for Information to others who are in credit with the Government. This, I thought, might be very material for his Majesty and Ministers to know, as the main Ressort of the present Government, and by which you may judge where the Power lies, how it moveth, and what is often meant by Resolutions of the States General, which is grown a Term common to them and to these Commissioners.

I have delivered his Majesty's Letters for the Emperor and Duke of *Brandenburg*, to their respective Ministers here, so as you may reckon upon them as gone away by this Days Ordinary. The *Marquis de Grana* is still here, detained for these two or three last days upon the Endeavours of composing the Pretensions of the several Confederates to the past and future Conquests in the *Dutchy of Bremen*; their
 Dissensions

Dissentions having given some Delay to the beginning of that Siege.

The States of *Holland* resolved this last Assembly upon the building of Six Ships, four whereof to be of eighty Guns a piece. I told the Prince, I believed they did it for a good Countenance, and to make the World believe they were richer than they found themselves: His Highness smiled, and said, it might be so; but upon *France* having so many Ships, and of the greatest Rate, he thought they might have reason here to look a little more about them. But for himself, he had no part in this Resolution, and would have been glad the Money might have been employed this Year upon the Land Forces. That it was done by the States of *Holland*, and at the Instance of the chief Trading Towns, especially *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*. I told the Prince, they might talk what they would of the *French*, and their Growth at Sea: But whensoever I saw them building Ships here of that Size, I should believe it was done with some Reflexions upon us. The Prince replied these Words: Shall I tell you the Truth? You may be sure while the World stands, we will never fall out with England, if we can help it; but if you will fight out with us whether we will or no, we should be sorry to be found unprovided. I said

I believed that would be as little as t' other
 now his Highness was where he should be.
 And so the Matter ended.

I am,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

To Sir William Godolphin.

Hague, April 14. S. N. 1676.

My LORD,

I Have the Honour of one from your Ex-
 cellency of the 25th past, by this Or-
 dinary, which gave me an Account with
 more Certainty and Particulars of the Ru-
 mor we had before concerning the Arrival
 of the *Spanish* Gallies. The Reflexions
 you make upon it are a true Picture of Man-
 kind, and the Motions that are frequently
 made in their Minds, by Accidents that
 touch

touch them perhaps no farther than their Ears. The Effects of this Kind reach even to these Parts, and I believe, to the very extent of this great Confederacy. This Place is now as dead as I have seen any great Town, or Seat of Publick Business, the Prince being gone last Week into the Field, at least, to the first Rendevous of his Troops near *Rosendale*, and with him all the Company that used to fill this Place. The Disgrace of the Chancellor in *Denmark*, and the Preparations for the Siege of *Staden* and *Philipsburg* take up most Talk here at this Time, but will, I suppose, soon give way to the Actions now likely to begin something nearer us: The *French* Designs upon *Ipre*, *Aire*, or *Charlemont*, or some other considerable Place in *Flanders*; being like to open a great Scene there. The Forces of the Confederates will certainly be very great, as well as those of the *French*; and seem all to conspire towards a very Active and Bloody Campaign.

The Talk of the Congress seems so out of date, that I am concerned for Sir *Lyndel Jenkins* his Melancholly Post at *Nimeguen*; which still continues in Expectation, rather than Hopes of some
 O. 2 lucky

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lucky Incident that may still revive
it,

I am ever with much Respect and Truth,

My LORD;

Your Excellency's

most Faithful

Humble Servant,

To the KING.

Hague, April 23d. S.N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Day before the Prince of *Orange*
left this Place, I attended him at
Hounſterdyke upon his own Appointment;
and telling me ſeveral times that he had
ſomething to ſay to me before he went into
the Field, and deſired it might be there,
and at ſome Leiſure. When we were alone
in

in the Garden, he was pleased to tell me; I would easily believe the Instances of the State, and of his Friends, as well as the Condition of his Family, must needs have put him often upon the Thoughts of Marrying; but he had been still in hopes that the Conclusion of a Peace would have made way for it sooner than he now thought it was like to do : For at present, he did not see when or how that could be brought about, unless your Majesty would resolve upon such Conditions as you should think fit to have it made upon ; and so propose them to the Parties, who were otherwise too distant in their Pretensions to agree easily themselves. That upon this Prospect he began to think, his Marriage could not longer attend upon the Motions of the Peace, which might be very slow and uncertain; and therefore he would tell me freely, that he was resolved, in case he returned from this Campaign, to neglect no time or Paces that could be made in the Pursuit of it. That for the Person, I might be sure his Inclinations would lead him into *England*, though he did not know what Dispositions he should meet with there ; and while the War lasted, it might on this side admit of much Reflexions, both from this State and their Allies. That however he would not go into the Field without

writing to your Majesty, and to the Duke of what he had so much at heart; and begging the Permission that immediately after the Campaign ended, he might go over into *England*. That he thought this would be necessary, both that he might make his own Pursuit himself, in an Affair that so nearly concerned him; and that by asking leave so early, no time might be lost upon that Occasion, when the Campaign was over. That he had Reason to desire, this Affair might at present be managed with all the secrecy that could be, and therefore was resolved to put the Letters concerning it into my Hands, and desired my Wife might deliver them both to your Majesty and his Royal Highness, and that he would take care to send them to me before he went.

This was the Sum of his Highness his Discourse to me when I took leave of him; and his Letters both for your Majesty and the Duke being some days after come to my hands, I thought it my Duty to send them according to the Directions I receiv'd from the Prince, and shall leave your Majesty to know the rest from his own Hand; tho' I think I have not mistaken any thing of what he said to me upon this Occasion. I shall not farther increase your Majesty's present Trouble, than by the
 humble

humble Professions of that perfect Devotion
wherewith I am and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To the Duke of YORK.

Hague, April 23d. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Highness,

WHEN I took leave of the Prince of Orange at his going to the Army, he was pleased to tell me the Resolutions he had taken of Writing to your Highness upon an Occasion he had so much at heart; and that he would do it before he went into the Field. He said, he was resolved to apply himself directly to your Highness in all that concerned it, and to beg your Intercession with his Majesty, that he might have leave to go over into England immediately after the Campaign ended. That he would likewise write to his Majesty

ty at the same time, to beg his Permission.
 And because he had reason to desire that
 whatever Paces he made at present in this
 Point might be secret, he was resolv'd to
 put his Letters into my Hands; and desired
 that my Wife upon her going over, might
 her self deliver them both to his Majesty
 and your Highness; I thought it my Duty
 to observe these Directions: And having
 by the same Hand given his Majesty an Ac-
 count of the Manner and Circumstance
 with which the Prince was pleas'd to enter
 into these Discourses; I shall not presume
 to trouble your Highness with the bare Re-
 petition of them, nor with any thing more
 at present than the humble Professions of
 the Devotion and Truth wherewith I am
 always,

S R,

Your Highness's, &c,

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, May 19. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

BY the last Post I had nothing worth your Trouble farther than the Notice of what I received from the Pensioner as the Pacquet was closing; that he hoped the Exchange of the Passports might be made the next Day, or on *Munday* at farthest. I heard no more from him till *Sunday Night*; but finding a Conference had been appointed for eight a Clock on *Munday Morning* upon that Subject, between the States and their Allies, I thought fit to speak with the Pensioner late on *Sunday Night*, and endeavour to know of him, whether there were any new Occasion of this Delay, in a Matter that I thought deserved a better and speedier Reception. He told me, the true Reason was, that the Emperor's Minister had not yet the Passports in his hands, but that they were at *Cologne*, from whence he was certain to receive them that Night: And that after the next Conference, the Deputies of the States would certainly attend me

me with the necessary Passports, and make the Exchange.

I remember very well, that some Months since, the Emperor's Minister affirmed to be then possess'd of all his Passports; which I took notice of to the Pensioner, the Delay being short, and then so near an end. But I have since Reason to believe, the Dispatch he expected was from *Dusseldorp* rather than *Cologne*, and concerted by him with the Duke of *Nieuburge*, in order to the producing such a Resolution as I received yesterday from the States. The Pensioner had before observed to me some difference between the Passports of *France*, and those of the Confederates, and the necessity of their insisting upon their being equal, which I undertake for. One was, that the Word *Repasser* was omitted in the *French*. Another was, that the Clause for Liberty of Couriers was so likewise; whereas both were inserted in those of the Confederates. And the third was, that there was but one *French* Passport for any of the Confederates, except only for *Spain*: Whereas those of the Confederates were, three for the *French* and *Swedish* Ministers; and so many would be necessary for each of the Confederates; since they might think fit to send so many Ministers; and either from several Places, or at several Times, so as not to be capable

of using one Passport. In all these Matters we found nothing of Consequence to hinder the Exchange of Passports, and dispatch of them to the respective Ministers. Since on the one side, I made no difficulty of engaging his Majesty's Endeavours to procure the Supplement of these Defects on the *French* Side : And on the other Part, the Pensioner said, they would declare, that in case that was refused, their Passports should reach no farther than those of *France*; which I did not contest.

Yesterday, being *Munday* Afternoon, two of the States Deputies came to me, and told me, they came from their Masters, in the first place, to repeat their Thanks, and those of their Allies to his Majesty, for the late Offices performed in this matter of the *Lorain* Passports. In the next, to make the Exchange of them, having brought with them those of their Confederates ; and to put into my hands at the same time, the Resolution taken by the States and their Allies, declaring the Conditions upon which the Exchange was to be made. They excused the Resolutions, not being yet translated into *French* ; by reason of the haste they made to bring it me after it was agreed on ; but did undertake to read it to me in *French* out of the *Dutch* Original. The first part contained those three Particulars mentioned,

mentioned, and in the same manner the Pensioner understood they should pass: But after that came a Clause; That whereas the Duke of *Nieuburg* was lately entered into the Confederacy; that his Majesty was desired likewise to procure Passports for his Ministers, and an Assurance from the King of *France* of granting Passports to whatsoever Prince or State should hereafter enter into their Alliance: Without both which the present Passports should be of no Force or Effect. And with these Conditions they offered to make the Exchange of Passports.

I was, I confess, very much surprized to meet with a Clause so little expected; and, as I thought, so very impertinent; and thereupon told them without farther deliberation, my own Thoughts upon it. That for the small Difference in the Form of Passports, I thought there would be no Difficulty, and questioned not his Majesty's Instances and Success upon them. That for the last, I esteemed it a very unfit return to so much Pains as his Majesty had taken in the pursuit of this Affair, and the Diligence he had used in the dispatch of the *Lorain* Passports by Express, immediately after he had with so much difficulty obtained them. That they had delayed the Exchange of them now for eight Days, and at length offered

offered it with Conditions that I esteemed wholly elusory, and upon which for my own part I could not think fit to make the Exchange; not knowing what other Advantage would be gained by it, than to keep the Passports of the Confederates as long in my Cabinet, as I had already done those of *France* and *Sweden*: That upon the first offer of his Majesty's Mediation, it was long before all the Confederates had accepted it; and long before they afterwards agreed to a place of Treaty proposed by his Majesty, though in their own Territories. That in *December* last they signified to his Majesty the Names of all their Confederates for whom they desired Passports, and upon the dispatch whereof they then assured the Delivery of theirs, and those of the Confederates without farther Condition. That an Incident having fallen out upon the Style of the Duke of *Lorain*, his Majesty had for several Months laboured for the removal of it, and at length obtained it with great difficulty. That when he now expected the immediate change of the Passports, and consequently the sudden forming of the Congress, wherein his Honour was so far engaged; they clogg'd it with two new Conditions; of which I thought the first out of Form, and out of Time; and the other wholly out of Reason and Practice.

That

That for the Duke of *Nieuburg*, I know he was a Prince for whom his Majesty had not only a particular Esteem, but Kindness too; and if either before or after the Exchange of Passports, they should have signified that new Alliance to his Majesty, and their Desires of Passports for him, I believed his Majesty would employ the same Endeavours for his Ministers, as for those of the other Allies. But hitherto his Majesty had received no notice of his entering into the Confederacy, unless they intended he should have it from *Gazettes*: Nor had the Duke of *Nieuburg* either received since the Offers of his Majesty's Mediation, or, that I know of, signified his Acceptation of it by himself, or the States, as all other their Allies had done: And consequently it was out of form to desire his Majesty's Offices in this Matter, before those Circumstances were past. And it was very much out of time to desire them just upon the Exchange of the Passports, and with Condition of their being void without the success of them, since the Exchange was intended for the sudden meeting of the Plenipotentiaries at the Place of Congress. And this Condition must of necessity delay it till both his Majesty's Resolution were known in mediating a new Proposal, and that of *France* in granting it: In which I was not yet informed of either

either of their Intentions, nor could be till a return from both Courts. That, for the other part of the Condition, which was an Assurance from *France* of granting Passports to all Princes or States that should hereafter enter into their Confederacy ; though they made it seem plausible by offering the Reciprocal to *France* and *Sweden* from the Confederates ; yet I thought it wholly impertinent and impracticable : And tho' I could not pretend to know whether either his Majesty would think fit to desire it, or the Most Christian King to agree to it ; yet I was sure I would not be of the Opinion for either of them to be done ; or for any Passports to be solicited by one, or given by the other, but for Prince and States that were named at the desiring of them. That the States might desire Passports for the Kings of *Macassar* and *Ceylon* , who were already their Allies, or for the Duke of *Moscovy* , who I hear was invited into the Confederacy of the present War. That I knew not whether his Majesty would trouble himself with a Mediation in their behalfs. That, to go nearer home, some Prince in the Alliance of *France* might change his Party, and enter into theirs ; and I did not know whether in such a Case the Most Christian King would think fit to admit such an Ally into the Treaty, or whether

ther his Majesty would sollicite it: Nor did I conceive either could be resolved without the considering of Circumstances as they should appear when the Case came in question. That, in the mean time, to make the Validity of the present Passports depend upon a future Condition, which could not be secured before hand, were to make the Congress wholly desperate: For no Ministers either from *France* or *Sweden* could think fit to come to *Nimeguen*, when in case at any time during their Residence there; upon the States desiring Passports, a new Ally which *France* (upon Circumstances that might attend it) should have reason to refuse; the present Passports were to become immediately void; and not only thereupon, the Negotiations if begun, or never so much advanced, must immediately cease; but the *French* and *Swedish* Ministers must remain in their Enemies Country, without any safety to their very Persons; since that could be grounded only upon their Passports, which would remain in danger of becoming invalid upon any such Accident. That for my own part, I took this to be a Strain of some of the Allies which were Enemies of Peace, and so employ'd their Wits to find out Pretences of delaying or breaking the Congress. That, however, since they brought it me as a Resolution of

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the States, I desired it in *French* (as all used to be that passed between his Majesty and this State); tho' the use I intended to make of it, was not so much to send it to his Majesty, as to draw up immediately an Answer to it of my own, containing the present Remarks I had made to them upon it; and what others should occur to me upon second Thoughts, which I would not only send to the States, but at the same time print and publish it; that all their Subjects might see upon what Points they and their Confederates turned the Affairs of the Peace; In which I knew very well how the People of these Provinces were concerned, whether the Government or their Allies were so or no.

Upon these Representations the Deputies of the States were so far moved, that instead of replying or maintaining the Resolution they had brought, they told me what I had said was of so much weight, that they thought themselves obliged to represent it to the States before they delivered me the Resolution. That they desired me therefore to excuse them for the delivery of it till next day; and in the mean time were very glad to understand my Opinion upon it, which they would report to their Masters that very Evening, and doubted not of having another Conference upon it this Morning with their Allies.

At their going away after all this had pass'd, one of them told me privately, *Que j'avois la plus grande raison du monde* : That their Compliance with some of their Allies had engag'd them in this Matter upon a Letter from the Duke of *Nieuburg* that came yesterday, desiring no Exchange might be made of the Passports without securing his according to his Treaty.

That which I understood to be at the bottom of this whole Matter is, the Interest of the Emperor, not only to secure the Passports for the Duke of *Nieuburg*, who is at present entered into the Alliance, but likewise for the Duke of *Bavaria*, who they believe will also be suddenly engaged, and chiefly by the Offices of the Duke of *Nieuburg* to that purpose; who being of the same Family, has great Credit and Influence in the Court of *Bavaria*. And they believe neither of them will be engaged without the same Condition of being equally considered in all Treaties, and comprehended in any Peace with the rest of the Confederates already named.

I know not what I shall receive from the States this Evening, and before the closure of this Pacquet. But in the mean time I thought it necessary to give his Majesty this Account of what has hitherto pass'd: And am of opinion, the States will not be able to

to bear the Noise of this Matter if they persist in it: But that in such a Case they will be forced to consider the Humour of their People, as well as the Interest of their Allies.

Thus far I had written by four a Clock this Afternoon; since which time the Deputies of the States have again been with me, and told me; That having represented to the States the Reason I gave them yesterday against the Resolution they had then brought me; They had since had a Conference with their Allies upon them; and that they all agreed, That to express the general and sincere Intentions they all had towards a Peace; and withal, the great regard they had for the Opinion of an Ambassador of his Majesty's, in what he thought concerned both the Honour and Desires of his Majesty in the Mediation of the Peace; They would remove those Difficulties I had observed like to arise upon yesterday's Resolution; and to that end had altered the Resolution it self, and brought me in a Form which they doubted not would agree with his Majesty's Intentions; and had given it the same Date, to the end there might be no appearance of the former Resolution: And that in pursuit of it they were ready to exchange the Passports, without any such Conditions as were yesterday mentioned.

I read the Resolution, (which I send you inclosed) and found nothing else to reflect on but the last Clause; and asked them whether they understood it to refer only to the precedent Period concerning the Equality pretended in the Passports, or likewise to that former Clause about the Duke of *Nieuburg*. They both affirmed, that it was meant only to refer to that immediately preceding, and not to what concerned the Duke of *Nieuburg*. Upon this we proceeded to the Exchange of Passports, in which we found several Points a little defective: As, that four of the *German* Princes had not yet sent their Passports, nor could they assure me when they should have them. But the chief was, that those of the Emperor were not yet here; but they affirmed that they were every day expected, and that they had been here some Months since; but upon those of *France* being short of the Form agreed on, especially in the Clause about Couriers; the Emperor's Minister had sent for new ones in the same Form; and was assured they were at *Cologne*, where he had likewise sent the old ones, so as to be now possess'd of none.

In the next place, there were no Passports from *Spain*, no more than from the Emperor for the Bishop of *Strasburg*; but these they assured me were consented to by both, and undertook to put them into my hands.

IN

In the next place, because *France* had sent but one Passport for each of the Confederates besides *Spain*, they had each of them sent but one for *France*; and the same happened likewise in those of *Sweden*. But the Exchange of our Passports having begun by those of *France* and *Spain*, and this State, and some of these Difficulties not appearing till that was performed which seemed the most material: We concluded to go on in the Exchange as far as we were provided; and thereupon proceeded as far as you will see marked in the inclosed List. Those from *France* and *Sweden* to the Emperor and the four *German* Princes, who have not yet sent their Passports, I have retained still in my Hands till theirs arrive. I shall expect those of the Emperor till *Friday*; by which time the Deputies assure me they will be here. If they come not by that time, I shall be sure however to dispatch away all those I am already possess'd of, to the *French* Ambassadors, by the Conveyance you prescribe me of an Express to *Mastricht*; and deliver those for *Sweden* to *Monsieur Sylvercroon* the Commissary of that Crown, excepting one you desire for *Monsieur Spar*, which I shall send in Blank to your Hands, being already possess'd of three from the States, and resolving to endeavour to get as many by that time from *Spain* and *Denmark*, if those Ministers have so many in their Hands.

For the Bishop of *Strasburg* I formerly sent you one from this State, and shall follow it with the rest as soon as they arrive. In the mean time you will please to procure three Passports for the Emperor; for I have yet but one, and that may, for ought I know, be the Reason of the Emperor's Ministers disowning to have any Passports; being a Man something Puntillious, and having desired me a Week ago to procure 'em, not without complaint of such a neglect from *France*; but without any thing that look'd like his wanting those of his Master.

I hope his Majesty will approve the Progress I have made in this Matter, tho' it be not yet compleat; which has fallen out chiefly by the number of Passports failing on the *French* and *Swedish* part. I cannot but be glad to find it upon the Terms it now is, considering where it was yesterday, and did not expect so absolute a change of the Resolution in so little time; having last night found *Monsieur Serinbamp's* very peremptory in defending that Resolution of the States. But this Morning the *Hannover* Resident told my Secretary, that there had been very warm Debates upon it between the States and some of their Allies, who persisted so far, that the Pensioner asked them: *Et que pretendez vous donc Messieurs ?*

de nous faire déchirer par la canaille. But these Passages of their private Conferences you will please may not be publick, because that may hinder me another time from knowing them ; which is sometimes necessary to acquaint me with the Springs from which the Publick Motions of such Affairs arise.

I have reason to think you tired out with this Length, and am very sensible of being so my self : Which leaves me only to acknowledge yours of the 5th, not finding any thing requires farther return than what I have already said about the Passports you mention for *Monsieur Spar*, and the Bishop of *Strasburg*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

Hague, May 29. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Inclosure of this Letter from his Majesty must bear me out in giving your Highness this present Trouble. It came to me seconded by one from Mr. Secretary *Coventry* upon the same Occasion, and was delivered to me by the Lady in whose Favour I suppose it was designed. I told her, I did not believe your Highness would do any thing in those kind of Affairs till your Return from the Field; and she seemed to believe so too; but however desired I would send your Highness the Letter, which I promised by the first: And that is all my Part in this Affair.

All that I can say in another wherewith your Highness encharged me, is, that the * Person chiefly concerned, endeavoured to have it excused absolutely till after the Peace; and that such an Answer might be given; upon which time was taken to consider: Since which I have hear'd nothing, but imagine 'tis possible your Highness may by a nearer way.

Having

* *The Duke of York.*

Having exchanged the Passports, and dispatch'd them to *Mastricht* a Week since, I do not foresee any thing likely to hinder the *French* Ambassador's Journey to *Nimoguen*, tho' it may be a little delay'd by the *Count d' Estrade's* Exception to his Pass from the States, which stiles him only *Conte*; to which he desires may be added, *Marechal de France*. I suppose there will be no Difficulty made upon it, nor I hope, in the Emperor's Passports, tho' they are not yet come; but I believe it may have been only negligence, without any other Mystery.

In my last Letters from *Madrid* of the 7th current, our Ambassador there writes me word, that after a Consultation in that Court upon the Proposal of his Majesty's Expedient, of giving all the Passports himself; the *Count de Pignoranda* had come to him with a Message, declaring that King's Consent to it so far as concerned all his Dominions and Territories subject to his Obedience. The Ambassador writes farther, that this Resolution was taken there, contrary to the Advice of many Passionate Letters that were written thither upon that Subject from *Holland* and *Flanders*. I thought this was a Light fit to give your Highness, because you would not perhaps receive it any other ways: For *Monsieur de Lyra* professes
to

to know nothing of it, and would make a Difficulty of believing it ; tho' I am sure it cannot fail after the manner it comes to me.

I have not yet fixed the time of my going to *Nimeguen*, expecting other Motions that way, unless new Orders press me from Court. I doubt not but what passes in the Field will signifie more than what will pass there this Summer as to the Peace, which your Highness says (in the Honour I recei- ed of one from you of the 18th) you will labour in. I am very sorry for the Acci- dents you tell me have hinder'd you in so great a Design, and very glad of the hopes you express of being able to advance it ; since nothing can be of more Glory to your Highness, and nothing can touch me more than whatever is so ; being as I am, and as I shall be ever with so much Devotion and Truth,

S I R ,

Your Highness's most

Obedient and most

Humble Servant.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamfon.

Hague June 2d. S. N. 1676.

S I R,

ON Saturday last, I received a Letter from the *Marechal d' Estrades* by the Trumpet I sent, with acknowledgment of my Packet inclosing the Passports for the *French Plenipotentiaries*, which he said he had dispatch'd away immediately to *Charleville*; excepting only his own Passport from the States. This he sent me; but finding fault with their treating him *Le Sieur Compte d' Estrades*, without the Style of *Marechal de France*; and desiring me to procure another with that Change. This I have done, and dispatch'd it away to him this afternoon; but could not at the same time send him the Emperor's Passports, which are not yet arrived.

I do not think it can be this Default, which makes so little Advance as yet in the Preparations for *Nimeguen*, that Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* writes me word, their Servants there own to know nothing yet of that Matter; and have no Orders to get any thing ready to convey or receive them. I rather suppose it may be the Business of
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the *Compte d' Estrade's* Equipage, which he intends very great ; having sent hither for Passports for his Servants to buy two and fourty Coach-horses, and by a List the Trumpeter shewed me of their intended Equipage ; his share is four and twenty *Lacquais*, and all the rest in proportion. The other two will have the same Number between them. The *Spaniards* you know, that cannot vye with the *French* in Things of more Importance, will not fail of doing it to the height in this. And I remember last year when the Marquis *de Manceras* was designed for the *Congress*, a List was sent hither of the Equipage he intended, of which there were to be twenty *Pages*. I suppose the Marquis *de los Balbaces* may not go lower; having they say, a Revenue of two hundred thousand Crowns yearly ; besides the Allowance for his Embassy. If all be like to go at this rate in such a Town as *Nimeguen* ; I do not see how we shall avoid one of the three Judgments ; of War, or Famine, or Sicknefs : Besides, that it is not his Majesty's Intent for ought I find, that his Ambassadors shall enter the Lists upon any such Emulations. I cannot tell if these Circumstances may make it seem worth his Majesty's considering, whether it would be fit to write to the several Crowns concerned in this Treaty,

that

that to prevent the Disorder and Inconveniences of too great Trains in a small Town, upon the Assembly of so many Ministers ; his Majesty had commanded his not to exceed each of them the Number of four Pages and eight *Lacquais*, and would be glad the rest would follow that Example. As likewise for all Crimes against the Peace of the Place, each Ambassador should be allowed to put his Servants so guilty, into the Hands of the usual Justice of the Town of *Nimeguen*. And that they should be instructed to live easily in all Points of meer Ceremony during the *Congress* ; like Persons who were sent thither with Dispositions to advance the Peace, and not to sharpen the Quarrels of their Masters by those of the Ministers ; which may otherwise very well fall out. I thought it possible some such Circumstances could not be amiss to add to circular Letters which his Majesty might send, for hastning away of the several Ambassadors, upon the end so happily attained in all preliminary Difficulties : For I doubt there may be need of such Instances towards the Dispatch of the *Austrian*, *Danish*, and *Brandenburg* Ministers, by the Dispositions I observe from the Motions of those Courts thus far of the Way.

This

This day one of the State's Deputies brought me the inclosed Paper, grounded upon a Memorial given them by the *Brandenburgh* Ministers ; in a Stile so brusque as I hear, as to desire of the States, that till the Change pretended were made in his Master's Passpotts, they would give Order to forbid the *French* Plenipotentiaries Entrance into the Town of *Nimeguen*. I hear, he expects not only to send Ambassadors, but to have them treated in all Points like those of Crowned Heads. In which, I neither know his Majesty's Style, nor that of *France* , but suppose it will be necessary for us to be distinctly informed of the first.

I was extream glad to find by your last of the 16th, his Majesty's final Resolution upon that Matter of the first Visit ; which I ever foresaw would engage us, and perhaps the *Congress*, in some Difficulties. You will please more particularly to instruct, whether we are to give the first Visits likewise to those that come after us from the Duke of *Lorraine* or the Electors, with Characters of Ambassadors : For I hear, those from the Duke and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* will certainly do so.

Monsieur de *Lyra* will not acknowledge to know any thing of what Sir *William Godolphin* writes me ; of that Crown's
having

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having consented to his Majesty's Expedient : But I have told it the Pensioner ; who says he will another time desire him to consult with his Instructions, or at least with his Letters, to know whether he is like to be avowed or not.

I am,

S I R,

Tours &c.

To the D U K E.

Hague June 16th S. N. 1676r

May it please Your Highness,

AFTER so great an Honour as this Packet brought me, by one from your Highness of the 30th past ; I thought it could not too soon be either acknowledged or obeyed. And therefore I presume to give your Highness most humble Thanks for the Honour I received, at the same time I dispatch'd away the inclosed to the Prince of *Orange*. I very well remember his Majesty's Mind , which he
was

was pleas'd himself to signify to me when I was last in *England*, upon Discourse of the Prince's Journey thither: But never had any Occasion to make use of it, till I took Leave of him the Day before he left this Place. For though his Majesty had last Winter some Jealousy of such an Intention; yet I never heard the Prince say one word towards it since my first coming over till then; unless it was when my Lord *Chamberlain* was here: And whatever he said then in my hearing, look'd rather like Civility or Return of Compliment, than any serious Thought. When he entered those Discourses upon it, which I gave his Majesty and your Highness an Account of; I told him his Majesty's Mind: To which he replyed, that he had always thought so too, while he had any Hopes of the Peace being made: But he did not see how that could be; unless his Majesty would make it by declaring the Terms upon which he thought it fit and reasonable for both Parties to agree. That he did not find his Majesty dispos'd to make this Peace; having never received any Answer to what he had written upon that Subject. And therefore the War being in his Opinion like to draw out in Length, he was resolv'd to try if he might have his Majesty's Leave, to make that Journey after this

Carr.

Campaign, and thereupon to write those Letters he sent me. Further than conveying them I had nothing in commission from his Highness, but only to endeavour that it might be Secret. And I must confess, as far as my short Sight will reach, I think there can be no Inconvenience in that, from Circumstances on all Sides, whether it ends here or no; which will depend wholly upon his Majesty and your Highness.

I am sorry this Station furnishes me with no Occasions of entering into your Highness's more particular Service, by the Honour of your Commands; which should always meet with the Obedience that becomes me, and the constant Devotion wherewith I am,

S I R,

Your Highness's most

Faithful and most

Obedient Humble Servant.

Q

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, June 24. S. N. 1676.

My LORD,

I Have by some Letters from my Wife received so great Testimonies of your Lordship's Favour to me; that I find it as hard for me to make the Acknowledgements that become me, as it would be to neglect them any longer. Therefore I could not forbear engaging your Lordship in this Trouble; though I have nothing else to bear me out besides the Humble Thanks I am to return your Lordship, for concerning your self so obligingly in what touched me so unjustly; and the Assurances that no Man can be either more sensible of your Favour, nor more resolved to deserve it by my Services, whenever they be worth your Lordship's employing upon any Occasion.

I am endeavouring as fast as I can, to get loose from hence in order to my Journey for *Nimeguen*; where we are like to enter into a wide Sea: And though we should steer the Course his Majesty prescribes us, never so well; yet it will be a great deal
Subject

Subject to the Winds that shall rise from the Humours of the several Parties, and the Tides that will run differently according to their Successes. The *French* have given of late all the Facility they could to the *Congress*, and made hast to the Place, as desiring no better Peace than upon the present Plan of Affairs. The Confederates, especially the House of *Austria* are fullen as Losers use to be; and so in all the Paces to the Treaty are slow and resty; hoping for something from the Campaign, which may make room for Pretentions that would hardly be in countenance as Things stand at present. The *Suede* is earnest for a Peace; as having more hopes of recovering himself that way than by a War. This State desires it as much as any; and has no Pretences of its own; but dares not break from their Confederates, not trusting *England* enough, nor *France* at all; so as to depend upon either after the Peace is made. *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* are eager in the War; finding the *Suedes* weak, divided, and unrelievable by *France* any further than their Money; and so hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany*; which for ought I see, they may endanger, if the Concert of the Confederates prove answerable to their Strength in those Parts.

With these Dispositions the *Congress* is to begin ; but how it will end, must certainly depend in a great measure upon the Successes that will attend the Campaign. The Designs at present of the Confederates seem to determin in the Siege of *Stratsonde* in *Pomerania* ; of *Philipsburgh* in *Germany* ; and in *Flanders* upon that of *Maestricht* : And it will be hard if one of these does not occasion a Battle, which may be more decisive than any Siege.

I know your Lordship has but too much Share in the Trouble of my constant Letters to Mr. Secretary *Williamson* : And therefore I shall not give you any further Interruption, than by the very unfeigned Professions of my being most passionately, and ever,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most

Faithful and most

Humble Servant.

To

To the KING.

Nimeguen, September 2d. S. N. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

THough what we writ joynly this day, of our conjecture that some of the parties, perhaps on each Side; would this Winter endeavour rather to fall into sepearte Measures with some of the parties, than to advance a general Peace; was groundd upon what Sir *Lionel Jenkins* told me, he had observed in his late Visits and Conversations with the *French Ambassadors*; wherein they owned very plainly their hopes and expectation of breaking the force of the Alliance this Winter, by drawing off either the *Dutch*, or at least some of the *German Princes*. Yet I thought fit to trouble your Majesty with some more particular Observations of my own, upon this Subject in Discourse more private with severall of the parties; and which I have not communicated to any other. *Monfieur Colbert*, after much Compliment to me the first Month I was here; of his Master's particular esteem of me, and of his own believing that no Man but I could make the Peace; in regard of the Interest he

believed I had with the Prince of *Orange*, and of the necessity there was of the House of *Austria*'s complying with any Measures the Prince should take: Has lately descended into more particular Discourses, of the advantages the Prince shall be sure to find in a Treaty with the King his Master: Of the Convenience the Prince would find in carrying it on privately with *France*, during the more publick Negotiations here: That the late Duke of *Bavaria* did the same at the Treaty of *Munster*, and thereby was the Person that made that Peace; and at the same time establish'd his own Interests with all the advantage he could propose to himself: That the Prince of *Orange* might act the same part here, and with the same Success both to the General Peace and to Himself: That he could Negotiate it by no Man so well as by me; and none could have a part of greater Honour or Advantage, than mine would be in the conduct of such an Affair. I told him upon this occasion, the truth of what I thought concerning the Prince and my Self in this matter; which was, that though perhaps his Highness would hear me talk to him, either of his general or particular Interests as soon as another Man; yet I had never known that person who had *aucun pouvoir sur son esprit*. That
your

your Majesty had found you had a great deal less than you had reason to expect; and that others had none at all who pretended to have more than their share. That by what I knew of the Prince's Dispositions, I much doubted, the relief of *Mastricht* would not dispose him to the Peace; and that he would be loath to set down Melancholly at the *Hague*, with that Thorn at his Heart. That I heard he was *fort dépité* at present; but that when the Campaign ended, I should have Occasion of seeing him, and should then be sure to know the bottom of his Heart; which I should acquaint your Majesty with, and observe your Directions upon it. *Monsieur Colbert* replied, that if the Prince would by me have given them any private assurances, that the carrying of *Mastricht* would have disposed him to the Peace; he was sure the King his Master would willingly have given him the Glory of it, and imploy'd his Army some-where in *Flanders*; *Mais qu' il ne falloit pas quitter le certain pour l' incertain*; that he believed the Prince was in ill Humour upon it, *mais que le temps le rameneroit*; and that he believed, that would not be before the end of the Campaign.

I observed in some particular Discourses of *Monsieur Beverning*, in a Humour when

we are aptest to tell truth ; that at least for his own part, he was extream ill Satisfy'd with the *Spaniards*, and with the War being pursued only for the Interests of that Crown, who contributed so little towards it ; that he desired the Peace so much, as if *Spain* would not be reasonable in it, to wish for it without them. This I know is the Sense of the substantial part of the People in *Holland*, as well as his ; and whether the Prince and the Persons at present in the Government, will be able after this disgrace at *Maestricht*, to keep the Spirits there in temper enough to carry on the War another Year ; I cannot yet or at this distance take upon me to judge.

I have observed by my Conversation with the *Suedish* Ministers, both at the *Hague* and here. That they desire a Peace with more impatience than any of the parties ; and so far, that if they cannot have it general in a short time, they would be glad of a particular one either with *Holland*, or the Duke of *Brandenburgh*. They do not think *France* considers them at all in proportion to the Losses and Misfortunes they have engaged them in : And one of their Ambassadors told me, he did not believe *que les affaires fussent encore dans l'affiette que la France demandoit, ny qu'il estoit necessaire pour leur faire tout de bon*

sou-

souhaitter la paix generale. He said this a little Mysteriously, making me believe he had already particular reason to think so, but should in a little time know more; and would then in confidence acquaint me with it.

I doubt it will be necessary for me in the course of this Affair, sometimes to give your Majesty some such accounts as this, of what may pass to me in particular confidence from some of the Ministers, either by force of old acquaintances or any other motions they shall find towards it. And possibly they may give your Majesty more light than the more open paces here. But if your Majesty will avoid the trouble, and appoint any other Person to whom I shall address such dispatches; I shall not further presume to give your Majesty these Interruptions, but content my self with your Majesty's Pardon for what is past, and with your Justice in believing and accepting that inviolable Truth and Devotion, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

*Your Majesty's most Loyal
Subject and Servant.*

W. Temple.

To

To the KING.

Almignen, Sep. 20. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Majesty.

UPon the Prince's Return from the Army he was pleased to write me a Letter giving me notice of it, and desiring me to meet him at his House near *Utrecht*, which I did on *Thursday* last. I staid two days with his Highness, and had very large Discourses with him upon the Events of the present Campaign, and appearances of the Treaty: As to my own Part in them, I shall only say, that they were all apply'd to those Ends, and in that Method which I thought most agreeable to your Majesty's Intentions, and to the several Instructions I have had the Honour to receive from your Majesty, or by your Order upon this Subject: The Substance of all his Highness Discourse I shall sum up in as few and as short Heads as I can for your Majesty's ease.

*Le malheur
de son poste,
ou pendant que
les autres fa-
isoient les fau-
tes, c'était à
luy de souffrir
la bonte.*

He express great sense of the Misfortune of this Campaign, and said, he knew very well,
*Le malheur de son poste, ou pen-
dant que les autres faisoient les
fautes, c'estoit à luy de souffrir la
bonte.*

bonte. When I told him that was too hard an Expression, and that no body thought he deserv'd, he repeated it again, and said, It must be so in the Opinion of all the World, but only some few, who knew the inside of the business. That he saw no remedy for it with the present Conduct of *Spain*, nor with such men as they employ'd in *Flanders*: That some of them were loath to venture the Army, and some as loath to venture themselves, and others knew not how to do either *à propos*: That I might very well think however, that he had no mind to sit down with the Disgrace of such a Campaign, and that if the *Spaniards* could but garrison their Towns so as to make any defence in form, he would yet hope he might have his revenge another year, by trusting to no Army but his own.

When I asked whether he thought the States were in Humour, or the Country in Condition to go on with the War, he said, he would not dissemble it, they had a horrible mind to the Peace, but so they had for these two last years, that they were however able to go on with it, especially if they were eased of their Subsidies to the Allies, and would be insensibly engaged in it, as they had been these two last Campaigns, if they could not have a Peace with some honour and safety.

When

When I took notice of his little inclinations to any sudden Peace, he said, on the contrary, he had a mind to it, and that no Interests of his own should delay it, but that he could not tell how to come by it; (which Words, I remember, he spoke in *English*) that he would deal plainly with me as to his own Thoughts, that tho' a Congress was necessary, yet he believ'd we could not hope to make a Peace here in less than about four years: That he was of Opinion, if your Majesty would have it this Winter, you must make it your self, by telling all the Parties upon what terms you expected, and thought reasonable it should be made: That if you would not do this, you must at least employ more private Negotiations towards it, and first sound *France* to the bottom, instead of sounding him (the Prince); and this for two Reasons: *First*, Because *France* was single, and Master of their own Resolutions, which he was not; and tho' he could answer for himself, yet he could not for those he was engaged with. Next, Because, if his Highness or *Spain* should first declare themselves upon the Conditions of a General Peace, *France* might very well make use of it towards breaking their Alliance, or the confidence of it, which they could not do towards *France*, which had no other Allie but the *Swede*, and him but very little considered, either in the Peace or the War.

When

When I would have enter'd into some Discourse of Conditions the most apparent for the Peace, he said, That upon the whole, he did not believe in the present Posture of Affairs, *France* could possibly be brought to such Terms as it was possible for the Allies to accept ; nor was it reasonable to think or to hope they should, after such a Campaign as had pass'd in *Flanders*. But it was not yet ended in *Alsace*, nor perhaps in *Flanders* neither : For tho' he would not go into the Field again to do nothing, yet if there should happen a good Occasion, he would be gone again at half an hours warning : That however this Campaign should end with *France*, 'twas like to pass well enough against the *Swedes* ; and as they had already eighteen thousand men of the *Lunenburgh* and *Munster* Troops by the Conquest of *Bremen* ; so they hoped to have thirty thousand more next Campaign, if the *Swedes* were beaten out of *Pomerania*, which was not unlikely yet before the Year ended.

He said we must talk over this Matter again when the Campaign was done, and that we should then know better what to say upon it : That it would be necessary for me to come sometimes to the *Hague*, and to that end advised me to get leave to do it whenever I saw occasion : I told his Highness

ness that I had it already, and should make use of it whenever his Highness thought it necessary, and would let me know it, as well as upon any other occasions of your Majesty's Service there.

I remember no more to trouble your Majesty with out of all our Discourses upon this Matter. There was one thing more his Highness said, which I think will be fit to tell your Majesty; tho' he might not intend it. He told me he had receiv'd a Letter from your Majesty, in answer to that he sent by my Wife, that you had refus'd him leave to go over into *England* before the Peace, and with Terms something hardish (which were his *English* Words) that he thought it was fit to take an Answer when your Majesty gave it him; and therefore he should trouble you no more about it: That your Majesty best knew when you thought was a fit time for him to do it, and he suppos'd would let him know it, since it seems he did not himself.

I cannot but add one word of an Advice of another kind, and from another hand, because it was new to me, and look'd considerable. Upon Discourse with *Count Oxen-sterne*, about the Court of *Vienna* (where he had been lately Ambassador) he told me the Emperor was so infirm, that it was not believed he could ever have Children that would

would live ; that this being foreseen, he found among the Ministers there, that it was resolved, in case of his dying without Sons, to leave the whole Succession of the *Dutchy of Austria*, and its Dependances to the Duke of *Lorrain*, with condition to marry the Emperor's Sister, and by this means to make way for his being Emperor, which he did not believe there would be any difficulty in, especially when such an Accident should find him in the Head of the Imperial Army.

I humbly beg your Majesty's Pardon for this long Interruption, and your acceptance of that humble and hearty Devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Loyal and most Obedient

Subject and Servant

W. Temple.

To

To the KING.

*Nimeguen, Octob. 19th. S. N. 1676.**May it please Your Majesty,*

I Cannot better acknowledge the honour of receiving your Majesty's particular Commands, than by assuring your Majesty of the infinite satisfaction I shall have in obeying them. I do not remember that the Reflections I made upon my last Discourse with the Prince, went so far as what your Majesty is pleased to make upon them in your last Letter. I did not conclude upon all which past, that he had a mind to continue the War, but rather, that he was unresolved between the Desires of repairing his Honour by another Campaign, and the Fears of being more in such Company as he is joined with in *Flanders*. But tho' his Dispositions seemed doubtful, yet his Judgment was indeed very positive that the Peace would not be made this Winter, unless your Majesty undertook it by advancing some Propositions of your own towards it: He concluded that we should talk it over again, after the Campaign should be ended

ended on all sides : And indeed the Winter Quarters of the Imperial Armies, wherever they fall , will open the Prospect into the next Years Events, more than any thing that has pass'd this Summer. For if the *French* can maintain a defensive War in *Alsace*, another Campaign, I believe, they will take *St. Omer*, *Cambray*, or *Valenciennes*, (if not two or all of them) in spite of all the *Dutch* and *Spanish* Forces will be able to do in *Flanders*, unless a very great change happen in their Conduct or Fortune. But if the *German* Armys should enter into *France*, that Crown may perhaps have work enough on that side, and be thereby forced to call away so many of their Troops out of *Flanders*, as to leave the Prince of *Orange* an easie Campaign there. This I find the *French* Ambassadors here apprehend, in case the *Swede* be wholly beaten out of *Germany* this Season, and the Alliance continues united and vigorous another Year. And *Monsieur Beverning* after all his *Fanfares* about a separate Peace (which your Majesty will meet with in two of our joint Letters by the last and this Ordinary) seems too publick and affected to mean much more, than to induce the Emperor into those measures : For after he had talked himself sober with me upon that whole Subject , he said at last in plain terms,

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that

that if the *Germans* would let *Brisfac* alone, and enter into *France* next Spring, the States would not make the Peace this Year; and that they had already taken their Measures, and found they could go on with the War another Campaign, and with the same Forces they had this last, or something greater, if there were a good Occasion.

He intends to go again into *Holland* , about the 10th of next Month, when the next Assembly will be of the States of *Holland* , at which time the Counsels and Measures are usually taken for the ensuing Year, and always for the chief Expence of it, as near as it can be then foreseen: I hope my Lord *Berkeley* will by that time be here, and then I shall take an occasion of going again to the Prince, and shall, I suppose, be able at so critical a time to make a clearer Judgment of what your Majesty may hope from him, as to the Peace; and neglect no Endeavours to give his Highness those Impressions which are not only agreeable with your Majesty's Intentions, but in my Opinion, with his own Interests too, in the Posture he stands with Friends and Enemies, both at home and abroad. I shall then give your Majesty a full Account of what Dispositions or Motions I find at the
 Hague,

Flague, which the *French* Ambassadors say upon all Occasions, must chiefly govern what passes here. In the mean time, I shall only beg your Majesty's Pardon for this Interruption, and your Justice in believing me what I shall ever be with the greatest Devotion and Truth,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Loyal and most

Obedient Subject

and Servant.

W. Temple

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To

To the Prince of Orange.

Nimeguen, Octob. 31st. S. N. 1676.

May it please Your Highness,

I Receiv'd lately a Letter from his Majesty, dated at *Newmarket* the 8th of this Month, and in answer to the Account I gave him of your Highness's Discourses with me at *Soesdyke*, and your Opinions, that his Majesty proposing the Terms of a Peace to the Parties, will be the only way of making it. His Majesty says upon it, that he doubts your Highness has a mind to continue the War, which he is sorry for; because, as it is conducted by your Allies, he fears you will not find your Account in it, and assures me, one of the great Motives he has for the Peace, is the belief that your Highness will be the better for it; that it has ever been his Endeavour, and is so still, to oblige *France* to declare it self to him upon what Terms they will be content to make the Peace; but if they will not, it must take the Forms which the Congress here will give it; and if that will not bring it to pass, his Majesty must content himself with having done what he could towards

wards it according to the Figure he has taken of the Common Mediator. Upon another Subject his Majesty says, he is glad to understand from me, that your Highness is of opinion, you must learn from his Majesty the time of your going over into *England*, which is not yet proper for it; but when it shall be so, he shall be as glad to see you, as you can with your self.

I have given your Highness the King's own Words in what I have written, between two Marks, and intended to have given you a larger Account of it my self at the *Hague* before this, if my Lord *Berkeley* had come hither so soon as we were made believe; it cannot be long before he arrives; and it will not be long after, I hope, before I shall have the honour of kissing your Highness's Hands; and ending the Discourse, we began at *Soesdyke*. In the mean time I am with great Thanks to acknowledge the very great Favour which my Wife says your Highness is pleased to offer, of lodging me at the *Hague*, and may very well take your Highness at your Word, if the Weather, and my Health continue ill as they have been of late.

I send your Highness inclosed a Letter I received from Mr. *Sidney*, which came not sooner, because, as I found by another he had great Disputes with his Father before he

would give this Answer. I am very sorry for it ; but since you find the Lieutenant Collonel so very capable, I hope it will be no loss. In case he has the Regiment, Major *Archer* has begg'd of me to mention him to your Highness, for the Lieutenant Collonel's Place, which I should not do, but that I remember your Highness express'd a very good Opinion of him; and I find by him, that he cannot (as he says) possibly live on the Regiment he is with *Fenwick* and *Weasly*. I hear this last is endeavouring to turn out one Captain *Knight*, for having been a Friend to Major *Archer* in some of their Quarrels ; I humbly beg your Highness to suspend any such Resolution till I have the honour of seeing you. I am ever with perfect Truth and Devotion,

S I R,

Your Highness's most

Obedient and most

Humble Servant,

W. Temple,

To

To Mr. Secretary *Williamson*.*Hague, Jan. 5th. S. N. 1677.*

S I R,

Since my last, the Day after my Arrival here, I endeavoured to speak with the Pensioner upon those Matters relating to this Ambassy, and still remaining without any Answer, or at least, Dispatch. After having twice excused himself upon his Indisposition, at length he gave me an Hour; and I found him in the Posture of a Sick Man, complaining of *une fièvre lente*, and Weakness upon the loss of very much Blood; which he said, was all *Sanguis adustus*. Which I repeat from his own Mouth, as Expressions that compared to other Circumstances of our Conversation, made me conclude his Illness to be at least as much of Mind as of Body; and derived, perhaps, from the Fatigue and Chagrin of his Business, rather than his Ill Constitution, though something of that be natural to him.

I first complained of the States Delay not only in the Satisfaction, but even in the Answer due to two of his Majesty's Letters, upon the Business of the three *Scotch* Ministers, which I took to be clear in the Words of the Treaty, and subject to no Dispute or Evasion: He confess'd it might look like a Neglect in the States, not to answer the Letters they had received from his Majesty; but they had delayed it, in hopes his Majesty might have been satisfy'd with the Reasons their Ambassadors in *England* had been charged to represent on that Subject; and they were unwilling it should appear by their Letter, either that his Majesty demanded a thing of them by virtue of a Treaty, which they did not think the Treaty obliged them to; or that any of the King's Subjects, who were, or should be hereafter banished by his Majesty, might from their Letter take occasion to hope for Refuge in these Countries. But if I would enter into the Debate of this Matter at a Conference with the States Commissioners, and should not be satisfy'd with their Reasons, but desire them in Writing, they would either give them me to represent to his Majesty; or else they would comprehend them in a Letter to his Majesty, in answer of those they had received from him.

I said,

I said I was resolved to enter upon this Matter, and see the bottom of it while I was here; but hoped they would upon it be so far Satisfied with the Clearness of the Case, as to answer his Majesty's Demand, rather by Compliance than Reasons: And so we resolved to attend two or three days, in hopes he might at that time assist at the Conference since he desired it; and I knew very well, nothing would be done to any purpose without it. I found however that the Stress of their Pretensions will lye in the Difference between Persons Banished, and either Rebels or Fugitives who are named in the Articles. For the Pensioner thinks his Majesty may declare any of his Subjects Rebels or Fugitives; and such a Declaration is enough (being signified to the States) to ground the Demand now made. But when a Prince or State banisheth any Man, they thereby declare him to be a Subject no longer; and have not afterwards Power to declare him Rebel or Fugitive, especially if he have offered himself to the Law; as two of these Men, he said did; and did not flye their Country, but by Sentence were forced to do it: But the Issue of this Matter I must refer to our Conference; as likewise that of the *Dort* Company, and the Ships *Thomas* and *John*, which were recommended in your last to my Care. When

When these Discourses had past; the Pensioner asked me whether I had brought them the Peace from *Nimeguen*: And I replied, since he was so ignorant of what had passed there; I would tell him, that they had carried their Matters there *en habiles gens*; That to bring their Allies to the Congress, they had pretended to treat by the first of *November*, whether they came or no. That after the day, they had found fault with the Powers; offered at new; made the Mediators course from one to t'other; spun out two Months time in these Paces, and thereby were gotten in sight of both *Spanish* and *Imperial* Ministers, which I supposed was the thing they always intended.

He answered me with something in his Face both serious and sad. That, either I did not know the Course of their Affairs here, since I left the *Hague*; or else I would not seem to know them. That they desired the Peace from their Hearts, and not only so, but thought it absolutely necessary. That they would certainly have entred into the Treaty, if the *French* had either brought Powers in Form to be admitted, or obliged themselves to procure new ones. I said, I believed him, and that they could have found no better way to bring their Allies to the Congress.

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He replyed ; *je vous diray donc encore, que nous n'insisterons pas sur une paix selon les pretensions de nos Alliés, et ne vous réponds pas que nous ne la ferons même séparée.* I said, it was at least a Matter of that Moment that I believed they would think of it before they did it.

With this he drew his Chair up closer to me ; and begun with great Earnestness a very long Discourse upon this whole Matter : Saying first, that they had thought enough of it already ; and for his Part, he was grown by thinking much, to conclude it was without Remedy. That they had great Obligations to *Spain* for entering into the War to save this Country ; but therein to save *Flanders* too : But they had made no ill Return by continuing the War now three years only for the Interests of *Spain* ; since there remained nothing of Consequence between *France* and them : That they had besides, engaged to carry it on this following Year, with the same number of Forces they did the last ; and so they would, if their Allies had performed their Parts : But for *Spain*, they took no care but only to let them see they were resolved to perish : That they sent their Fleets home from *Sicily* without any of the Payments agreed for, and left them to be pay'd by the States here at their Arrival. That

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not a Penny could be got of 300000 Guilders they owed them for Carriages and Provisions the last Campaign, and which was designed for their Magazines in *Flanders* against the next. That they had represented to *Spain* the absolute necessity of keeping so many Forces in *Flanders* as would defend their Towns, while the Prince took the Field; which he was content to do with the Army of this State; But not a word of Answer. That they had then desired *Spain* to receive so many of the Forces of their Allies, as might serve to defend their Places; but instead of this, they drove them out of their Country. That for the Emperor, they had always told him, unless his Army would march into *France*, or give a Battle; *Flanders* could not be defended last Year, nor this next; unless his Forces took up their Winter Quarters in *Alsatia*, or that side of the *Rhine*. But at *Vienna*, they considered *Flanders* as much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary*; And because the Imperial Officers could make greater Advantages of Winter Quarters in *Germany*, than in such a harassed Country as *Alsatia*; their Armies must return this Winter, and thereby lose all the Advantages that might have been made of the last Campaign. That for want of Magazines in *Flanders*, two

or

or three of the best Frontier Towns would be lost next year before the Imperialists could possibly take the Field ; and if *Cambray*, *Valencienne*, and *Mons* were gone , all the rest would certainly revolt ; considering the Miseries they had already suffered, and must still by a longer War. That either the Prince could not be soon enough in the Field to prevent it, or else he would not be able to subsist for want of Magazines, and the Country's being like to be deserted and wast by this Business of Contributions unsettled : Or else he would not be strong enough to venture a Battle or raise a Siege ; considering how weak the *Spaniards* would be, how poorly their Towns would be defended, and how strong *France* would come on that Side into the Field, while they had no Enemy upon the *Rhine*. That the Prince's Friends could never suffer him to go into the Field, only to see Towns taken under his Nose, and perhaps the whole Country lost while he was expected to defend it, and rendered incapable of doing it by the Faults of the *Spaniards* ; who yet would lay it to his Charge, and be the first to reproach him : Which would be done likewise by his Enemies at home, and Ill-willers abroad ; who would be glad of the Occasion.

In the mean time, from *France* they could have whatever Conditions they pretended, either as to the restoring of *Mastricht*, or the *Reglement* of Commerce, or the Advantages of the Prince; and as to this last, all they could desire. That they had Letters every Week from the *Mareschal d'Estrades* upon this Subject; and from other Hands: And for his own part, though he should fall into it with Regret, yet he did not see what else was to be done; and he did not know one Man in *Holland* that was not of the same Mind.

This long Discourse ended with saying, that he did not talk to me like an Ambassador but a Friend, and one whose Opinion he esteemed. That he discovered to me *leur fort et leur foible*; and would be glad to know what else they thought they could do *dans l'accablement de cet Etat par une si longue guerre*, and all the Circumstances that now attend it both from their Friends and their Enemies.

I gave him Thanks for the Confidence he express'd towards me; but desired to be excused for giving my Council or Opinion to a Person who was so able to take Measures for the State and for Himself. But I desired to know what he reckoned would become of *Flanders* after this State had made a seperate Peace. He replyed, that

that it would be lost either in one Summer or two ; but more probably in one : For he believed the Towns of *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, and *Mons*, might be taken in one Campaign ; or if *Valenciennes* were only taken on that Side, *Cambray* would be out of care, and must fall of it self. That after this, none of the great Towns would offer at defending themselves, unless it were *Antwerp* ; and for that perhaps some Measures might be taken with *France*.

I asked him how he reckoned this State was to live with *France* after *Flanders* was wholly lost ; and whether he thought it would not be perfectly at Discretion.

He said if they could hope to save *Flanders* by continuing the War, they would not think of a seperate Peace : But if they saw it must be lost by one as well as t'other, they thought it best by the last ; which would not only less exhaust the State, but be less Dishonour to the Prince too. That after *Flanders* was lost, they would live so with *France* ; that they should find it more for their Profit to preserve this State than to destroy it. That he knew very well, it was not a Thing to be chosen, but they should be forced to it as Men are sometimes to desperate Remedies. That they had long hoped some Ressource
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from better Conduct in the *Spanish* Affairs. That they had believed some Impressions of the *German* Army in *France* it self, might have brought the Business *à un accommodement raisonable*. That he for his own part had ever believed *England* it self would cry *halte* at one Step or other; and if they would be content to see half *Flanders* lost, yet they would not see it all; and the same of *Sicily*. That the King had the Peace in his Hands for these two Years past; and might have made it when he pleased, and upon what Conditions he thought fit. That for their parts, *Monsieur van Beuninghen* had desired his Majesty to say whatever he would have in it; and that this State would endeavour it upon any Terms his Majesty proposed: But that he could never get one word of Answer. That he had full Power to make any sort of Alliance with his Majesty that he desired; but nothing of that neither. That he confessed it was true, *cuncta prius tentanda*; but he found at length it was *immedicabile Vulnus*: And he saw nothing left for them to do but a separate Peace. That he understood very well, what I meant by asking how they were to live with *France* after the loss of *Flanders*; but he had cast up that too. That first; *La visée de la France sera plutôt sur l'Allemagne*

ou sur l' Italie, que sur eux. That in the next place, he knew it would not be their Interest to Conquer or Destroy this State, but could make better Uses by preserving it in a Dependance upon them. That the King had seen their Country, and understood it so; and had said upon all Occasions since, that he had rather have them for his Friends than his Subjects. That for their Religion, which he had as much at Heart as any Man; he did not fear any thing in that from *France* neither: That this King was not *si coiffe de sa Religion*, as thereby to lose any Interests of his State; and he knew very well that any Force or Change in Religion here, would quickly destroy the Trade; and thereby the Sea Forces of this Country, which he might make better use of than if it were left *un grand Marécage*. But at last, if their State must fall in four and twenty Hours, 'twere better for them to defer it to the last; and that it should happen at Night rather than at Noon.

All this was Discourfed with so much Earnestness; that I was afraid it had done him hurt; and indeed it left him not in Condition or Breath to go on with a longer Conversation. And so having said, it was not a Matter to be resolved between us two; and that I wish'd him Health e-

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nough to go through the Thoughts and Business of so great a Conjunction ; I left him.

The next Morning I went to the Prince : And after some common Talk ; I told him I had seen the Pensioner, and asked whether his Highness knew what Discourse had pass'd between us. He said no ; he had not seen him since ; and asked me what it was. I repeated several Heads of it, and said ; it all concluded in the necessity of this State's making a separate Peace : And that he said there was not one Man in *Holland* against it. The Prince interrupted me and said ; Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is my self ; and I will hinder it as long as I can : But if any thing should happen to me, they would do it in two days time. I asked his Highness, whether he was of the Pensioner's Opinion in what was likely to happen next Year in *Flanders*. He said the Appearances were ill ; but Campaigns did not always end as they began : That some Accidents might happen which no Man could foresee ; and if a Battle should be given, none could answer for the Event. After this, and two or three little Things he said about our Indifference in what became either of the Peace or of *Flanders* : His Highness rose up as if he did not care
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for going on further with the Discourse ; and so broke it off.

I have been very exact in the Account of all these Passages, the Introductions to them, and often the very Words (which I have marked) because I believe them the true Representations of the present Dispositions here in this Matter of a separate Peace : That is, the People in general, the Towns, the States, are all bent upon it ; from an extream Dislike of their Allies Conduct, both in the Treaty and the War. But the Prince alone, upon whose Honour the Allies have wholly relied in all their Negotiations with this State, is not yet able to digest it ; and being equally apprehensive of the Dishonour may befall him, either by seperating from his Allies by a Peace ; or pursuing the War in Conjunction with *Spain* (whose Weakness and ill Conduct will make the Faults, of which he must in common Opinion bear the Blame.) He is certainly at this time most extreamly desirous of a general Peace ; and will not only goe into it, in such ways as his Majesty shall think the most expedient ; but will take it the Kindlyest in the World, if his Majesty should think fit to use his Offices with *France*, so as to bring it about with Honour to his Highness, in some moderate Satisfaction to his Allies.

If his Majesty interposeth no further than by the bare and formal Offices of his Mediation at the Place of Treaty, and the *Austrians* hold off as they have hitherto done. I suppose the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, will fall into separate and perhaps private Negotiations of the Differences between them; which I guess (from the Dispositions I can observe on both Sides) will be very soon and easily adjusted: And then the *Dutch* will be ready to clap up a separate Peace in two days time, whenever they grow more out of patience at the Slowness and Unsincereness of their Allies in the general Treaty; or more apprehensive of Dishonour and ill Success in the War. Or when these or any other Circumstances shall bring the Prince to fall into the same Opinion with the States upon this Matter:

Monsieur *Colbert* hath in many and particular Discourses, besides others from the Marechal *d' Estrades*; told me so much of their Desires to enter into this Matter of separate Negotiations and Measures with the Prince and this State; of the easiness they should find in Points of Commerce, and Advantages his Highness should receive by it to himself; both in the Treaty, and in the course of the King their Master's Friendship hereafter; that I suppose

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pose there can occur no Difficulty of that Side, whenever it grows full ripe on this. And therefore I presume, the knowledg of all these Circumstances would be necessary for his Majesty's information, in so great and so nice a Conjuncture ; and more particularly so, for his Instructions to us as to our Conduct at *Nimeguen*, whenever we meet with such Motions there as are likely to arise from such Dispositions here.

I beg your Pardon for so long a Trouble, and one word if you please of the inclosed by last Post from hence, being delivered to his Majesty, and your belief of my being always,

" S I R,

Your most Faithful

humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, Jan. 8th. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledg the Honour of one from you of the 5th past; since which time I found it necessary for me to make a Turn hither; both from a Letter of the Prince which desired it, and some Business relating to this Embassy that required a Dispatch; and also that in such a Conjunction I might be perfectly informed how the Game was like to play; Which could be known no where but here, nor indeed by other Hands than those I deal with; which are the Prince and the Pensioner. You will have known from my Dispatch last Ordinary, all I am like to know upon the Subject of a general or separate Peace: And I find by Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* his Letter this day to me, that he is fallen upon the Scent of this last at *Nimeguen*, since I came away; and likewise that he has received some Letters from Court since I left him; which looks as if you had apprehended it there already, and

and given some Orders in a late Letter about our Conduct in the Case by way of Protestation; which he seems much in pain about, and desires my help in, without having sent me any Copy of Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Letter upon that Subject: So that I can make no Judgment at all of the Thing how it is given us in charge. But if it should be as I apprehend by his Letter, that in case we find a separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, concluding or concluded at *Nimeguen* without our Communication, we should protest publicly against it in his Majesty's Name. I do not well understand to what purpose such a thing can be intended. If we dislike the Thing, and it appear to Sanguine Men at Court, as dangerous as to Melancholly Men in the Country, we may endeavour to prevent it; but if it be once concluded, our Protestations can in my opinion, serve only to irritate the Parties, and bind them faster together by the apprehension of our being angry at them both, and at their Conjunction. Nor can I well see either what Ground such a Protestation can have, any more than what Effect. For the Parties have not obliged themselves to his Majesty, upon his Mediation of a general Peace; either that they will not treat with-

out his Mediation, nor seperately ; or if they had, the same Interests that force them to break through so many Obligations to their Allies, would make them as bold with those to a Mediator. Besides, I observed in Monsieur *Colbert's* Exceptions to our Form of Powers ; he said, there was one essential Default in the very Dispositive ; which was the omission of that Clause, That they might treat with the adverse Ministers, either with or without the Intervention of the Mediators ; and so we may certainly reckon they will do when Interest leads them to it.

I am forced to trouble you with this Discourse , having received this Letter from Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* since I closed mine this Night to Mr. Secretary *Willi-amsen*. I know not whether what I have said be at all to the purpose, because 'tis very likely I may have misapprehended the late Instructions sent us over, which are mentioned very short in my Colleague's Letter to me. Besides, I am the apter to think I may be mistaken ; because I remember, upon our desiring Instructions two months since, how to conduct our selves in case of seperate Treaties ; we had no Answer given us upon it. And I will
tell

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tell you, that not only the Allies are of opinion that we would promote it; but the Prince himself seems to believe we would be glad of it; though I assure him, all our Instructions run quite contrary, and impower us only to perform our Offices towards the general Peace.

I am ever with the Esteem and Truth that become me,

S I R,

Your &c.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Jan. 8th. S. N. 1677.

My LORD,

UPON the Incident of a Letter just now from my Colleague Sir *Lyonel Jenkins*, concerning ~~some Instructions~~ he had receiv'd since I left him, in relation to a separate Peace ; I thought it necessary to write the Inclosed to Mr. Secretary *Coven-try*, having already closed my Pacquet to Mr. Secretary *Williamson* ; and our Instru-
ctions commanding us to correspond with the Secretary's of ~~State~~ ; So as all Advices of importance are necessarily addressed to one of them for our Discharge.

However, I thought what I had written fit to be presented to your Lordship as early as I could, in hopes you will give your Hand towards our full Instructions in his Majesty's Mind upon this Matter. For my part, if I apprehend right what Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* writes to me about a Protestation, I cannot understand the Drift of such a Council, nor why one should be angry when one hurts no body but ones self. To prevent the Thing may be a wise and ne-
cessa-

cessary Counsel, and in which his Majesty's Meaning ought to have been signified early where it was likely to be of moment to that end; but if the Thing should be done, I cannot imagine either how to ground our Offence, or seek our Revenge, and it would be to stay till we are struck, and then trust to crying out. Whereas, for ought I know, it were better to anger either of the Parties before a separate Peace, than both of them afterwards; and if we must strain any Points of Courtesie with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general Peace, than by complaining and protesting against a separate one.

I beg your Lordship's Pardon for this Trouble, and your Justice in believing me ever,

My LORD,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir *Joseph Williamson*.

Hague, Jan. 12. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

I Have received the Honour of yours of the 26th past, with the Copy of another of the same Date to the Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*; for which I humbly thank you. As to what concerns the Points depending here, I can add little more than what I writ last; but that I have received assurance that the States will give sudden Order for returning of the Money, and Security given the Master of the *Thomas* and *John*, taken by a *Dutch* Man of War from a *Dunkirk* Caper; and this they will do upon the Assurance I give them (from his Majesty's Letters) of the like Procedure on our side towards them in like Cases:

All I have left, is the Affair of the Three *Scotch* Ministers, which must be brought to a Conference; and that the Pensioner's Illness will not yet suffer him to assist at, since it must be at my House, and he has not yet stirred abroad, but is something better to day, so as to give me hopes it may be to-morrow

morrow, or *Thursday*; if not, I will have it on *Friday* without him, and drive it as far as it will go. His Illness begins to be apprehended by many, being a continual, tho' slow Feavour, and would extreamly disconcert the Measures of this State, if any thing of ill should happen to him. *Don Emanuel de Lyra* who has absented himself from his Post here for near three Months, upon the Shame of appearing without Money for the Fleet from *Sicily*, and that to *Denmark* last Year, and the want whereof would have endangered some Trouble at *Amsterdam*, if the Ships from *Sicily* had been able to come in before the Frost, writes now word from *Brussels*, that he is preparing to come away immediately; and that he shall do it with less regret and shame, being possesst of the Money due, *por el Mediterraneo y el Baltico, y sin Gasconado*: which are the Words of his Letter, and have so much Credit with the Prince and the States, that they take it for a thing done; and it was high time. The Prince tells me, He thinks the Remises come by last Ordinary to *Brussels*, are of two Millions and a half of Crowns, but that more is expected.

The *Danish* Minister presses very much for Money, Ships and Men here; but I believe they will go hard from this State; who pretend the *Danes* may content themselves

selves with their new Conquests, and the *Spanish* Subsidies towards carrying on the War. I know not whether they reckon well: For, however the last Action in *Schoonen* past, or however it be told, I look upon it as a very advantageous to the *Swedes*; not only by gaining their Point in the relief of *Malmoe*, but also by being left Masters of the Field in that Province. And tho' the Loss may have been equal on both sides, or, perhaps, greater on the *Swedes*, yet I take that *Crown* to have much greater Resources than *Denmark*, both in Bodies of Men of their own Natives, and in the Moneys from *France*; whereas *Denmark* will find very hard to repair the loss of their Foot in this Battel, without Levies from *Germany*, which will cost more Money than they can well furnish without the Subsidies agreed both from this State and *Spain*.

I intend to get away from hence as soon as possibly I can, upon the pressing Instances made me from my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, as well as from *Monsieur Colbert* and *Beverning*; but chiefly from the great embarras that you will find fallen upon the Business of the Assembly; by the irregular Demarches of *Count Kinski*; whereof I have been this day acquainted by a Copy of the Joint-Letter that goes to you with this Ordinary; which if they proceed one Pace farther,

Further, as it seems he intends, must of necessity break all Communication between the *Imperial* and *French* Ambassadors, and consequently give a stop to the Progress of any General Treaty. Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* presses me so earnestly to give him my Advice by to-morrow's Pacquet, what to do in case they receive a second and more formal Notification from Count *Kinski* of his Arrival; in order to a second Visit of Ceremony, that I cannot avoid giving my Opinion upon it; since the Case is like to happen before he can receive Directions from you.

I think they are to use all Endeavours possible to divert Count *Kinski* from this Resolution: First, because it is contrary to the Style hitherto used by all Ambassadors in the Congress. Secondly, Because our visiting the Count a second time in Form, will be to give him a new Honour, which has not been pretended by, or given to any other Ambassador. Thirdly, Because upon this Practice the *French* will certainly make him no Visit, as receiving from him but half the Honour which he will have done, not only to the Mediators, but to the Ambassadors of all the Allies, by two formal Notifications. Fourthly, Because the Mediators have already declared to him as well as to the *French*, their own Opinion in the Case; and if any thing at all be allowed

lowed to a Mediator, it is regulating such Matters of Form as these. My last Reason concerns the Honour of the Mediation, and so must be private among us; which is, that a Preference has been declaredly given to the Mediators by *Count Kinski* in the first Notification, which, it seems, is not like to be taken care of in the second.

To gain this Point of *Count Kinski*, it will be perhaps necessary to employ the Offices of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, as well as the foregoing Reasons; and possibly to tell him one of greater weight than all the rest; which is, that if the Ministers of *Austria* retard the Progress of the Assembly by any of these Motions, contrary to the usual Style and Form, it will be interpreted as a new and affected Delay; and the End of that will be to drive the *Dutch* into private Negotiations, or separate Treaties; whereas the only way to keep them close to a general Peace, were, for the *Austrians* to express all Facility towards it that others have done, at least, in the formal and preliminary Parts of it.

If by all these Reasons and Persuasions, *Count Kinski* will not be prevailed with, I think the Mediators ought to tell him plainly, that in case of a second Notification, they cannot take notice of it, or make
him

him a second Visit in Form, without first receiving his Majesty's Orders, and so attend your positive Directions upon the Account given you by this Ordinary.

In case Count *Kinski* will be prevailed with to content himself with the first Notifications and Visits made him upon them; then, I suppose, the *French* and *Swedes* may be appeased upon receiving their Notifications so late; since Count *Kinski* pretends to have yet notified none but the Mediators, and to have receiv'd Visits from the rest without Notifications.

For my part, I see no other way out of this Wood; and if by Count *Kinski*'s Obstinacy it must come to his Majesty, I know not well what in that Case can be done, but to stick close to the Stile already used in the Assembly; where no first Visits have been distinguished by Cognito or Incognito: Since a change made by his Majesty in this Practice will not only break all Correspondence or Visits between the *Imperialists* and *French*, but will give an Offence from His Majesty to the *French*, by giving a Point more to the Emperor than to their King; whereas they pretend to yield only Place to him, but no distinction of Rank.

I thought fit to trouble you with my Thoughts upon this Occasion, as well as to transmit them to my Colleague at *Nime-*

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guen, in regard they may possibly serve to give his Majesty some little Light before the Resolution be taken in it. And I will presume to add one Consideration more upon the other Embarras already fallen out between us and the *Brandenburgh* Ambassadors, wherein it seems his Majesty has not yet interposed his Judgment; the Allegations on either side are so blank, contrary one to another, that it is difficult to determine them; tho' the Testimony of *Monseur Courtin*, *Oxenstiern* and *Colbert*, in what they have themselves practis'd, or seen practis'd so often, seems not easily to be scrupled. But the great strength of the *Brandenburgh* Pretension will be the late Resolution of the Emperor, dated, as I remember, *Nov. 25*, last past, in the Practice intended thereupon in their favour by the *Imperial* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon possibly by the *Spanish* too. Now this new Concession of the Emperor seems on one side to weaken the *Brandenburgh* Allegations as to former Practice (in which case there would be no need of this new Resolution): But on the other side, it seems to induce other Kings to give them what the Emperor does, to whom they yield in point of place.

This only is to be considered, whether other Kings will take themselves to be obliged

ged by the Emperor's Stile to *German* Princes, since he may have an Interest in doing it toward the decision of what remains in question between him and other Kings. For tho' the Emperor pretends to be in rank above other Crowned Heads in *Christendom*; yet as I take it, the other Kings consider him only as the first of Kings, but not as of a Rank above them. But if the Emperor can procure by his Example, the Electors to be treated equally in all Points with the Crowned Heads, it will be an Advantage to his Pretensions, since there is certainly a difference of Rank between him and his Electors. In case *Spain* gives it by the Emperor's Example, and from Considerations of their present Confederacy; both with the Emperor and Princes of *Germany*; the Inducements will then be stronger for his Majesty to do it; and the Question remaining will only be, whether his Majesty should do it without Assurance that *France* and *Sueden* will do it too. For since his Majesty has already declared the Stile he intended the Electors, and grounded it upon the Precedents of *Munster* and other later Assemblies, if he should change his Stile upon the Example of the Emperor and *Spain* alone, it may seem a Partiality to the Opinion and Practice of those two Crowns, and against those of *France* and

Sweden : Whereas , his Majesty as Mediator, may be allowed not to change his own Stile, but upon a Change or Consent of all the other Crowned Heads.

But the Determination of these Matters must be given us by your Orders from his Majesty to us, and our Parts are no other but offering the small Lights we can towards his Majesty's better Information in these Cases.

Monsieur Colbert sends me word , that they have receiv'd their own *Pleinpouvoirs*, and in such a form, *Que Monsieur Beverning avouë luy même qu' il a tout ce qu' il demandoit*; Which I take notice of as something that has pass'd between them without the Communication of my Colleague at *Nimeguen* , for as much as I observe by their Dispatch. And I doubt not but the Delays of the Allies will hasten *Monsieur Beverning* one way or other to enter the sooner and deeper into the Business, as far as lies particularly between *France* and them.

I took notice in the Duplicate of the last Letter to the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, of his Majesty's pleasure concerning Mr. *Hyde*, whom I have not yet seen, his Arrival happening at *Nimeguen* several Days after I left it. But I have given Order for the offering him all the Convenience of my House or Equipage during his stay there; and was surpriz'd

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surpriz'd with the News by this Days Letters, of his having already left *Nimeguen* upon his way hither, where I am now like to see him first.

I am,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, Jan. 15. S. N. 1677.

May it please Your Majesty.

I Know no better Acknowledgments I can make your Majesty for so great an Honour as I received last Night by a Letter from your own hand; than in the best Obedience I can yield to the Commands it brought me; especially that of giving your Majesty with all speed an Account of what Conclusions the Prince should fall into upon the Subject of it. I have already had two Audiences from his Highness upon this occasion, and discoursed over the whole

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thing with the best Advantage I could, to what your Majesty proposes to your self, and to the Prince, with so great Reason in the Course of this Affair. I shall not trouble your Majesty with the Particulars of these Conversations, but give you as short and as close as I can, his Highness's last Answer and Conclusion upon them; which is this, and to which he told me he would refer himself in the Letter he intends this Night to your Majesty.

His Highness says, that this being the first time your Majesty has pleased to tell him plainly the Conduct you would have him hold in the course of this Affair; he is resolved to let your Majesty see how great Esteem he makes of this Confidence, by the most perfect Compliance with what your Majesty proposes as the first Step to be made in it; and by falling in with your Majesty in the Concert of the rest as far as he can possibly whenever he shall know more of your Mind. That their Ambassador shall receive Orders to give in a Memorial to your Majesty in their Master's Name, desiring and pressing the Continuance and Enforcement of your Majesty's Offices towards a General Peace; and chiefly upon this Ground, that they apprehend the loss of *Flanders* without it; and that his Highness will so concert it here, that this

this shall be in such Terms as will reach your Majesty's End, and shall be left for you to make what publick use of it you think fit. That, because this cannot be prepared before the next Post, his Highness will this Night put into my Hands a Letter, signed by himself and the Pensioner, to *Monsieur van Beuningen*, giving him order to apply all his Discourses in common and particular Conversations, to the same end; and even to receive Instructions from your Majesty in what manner and Terms, in what Places, and to what Person chiefly to apply them. That this Letter being not to be communicated so much as to the Commissioners of Secret Affairs here, shall be inclosed by me to your Majesty's own Hands, to use as you please; to give it privately your self, or cause it to be delivered by any other Hand, and at such time as you think fit: And his Highness questions not *Monsieur van Beuninghen* governing himself in this Affair entirely to your Majesty's satisfaction. That for the Ministers of their Allies, he cannot answer for them, because he knows very well they have not a mind to the Peace, as his Highness and this State have. That it will be hard to make them say what they do not think of *Flanders* being lost without the Peace; but that he knows *Don Emmanuel de*

Lyra to be so reasonable a Man, that his Highness hopes to bring him to your Opinion; that this Conduct is fittest for their Ministers in *England*, and to prevail with him to write effectually to *Don Bernardo* upon it : And to this end, the Prince told me, he would write to *Don Emanuel de Lyra*; that it would be absolutely necessary for him to come immediately hither, and that at his arrival he would use his utmost Offices to dispose him to it.

In all these Paces his Highness thinks he goes to the utmost Length your Majesty can desire; and indeed I could not think of any thing more to propose. But after all, he said, he could not engage to go farther in the Endeavours of effecting the Peace, till he knew upon what Terms your Majesty intended it : For, there are some that may be supported, and others that cannot ; and such as these, they will venture *le tout pour le tout* rather than agree to them. And therefore it would be necessary to know your Majesty's Mind as soon as was possible.

I told his Highness, I would represent this to your Majesty, but desired him to consider, that there might very well be three Weeks or a Months time between your Majesty's knowing his Mind first, and telling him your own upon it ; or his Highness's knowing your Majesty's first, and then

then telling you his upon it, and expecting afterwards a Return from your Majesty. His Highness made a Pause at this and other Arguments I used towards prevailing with him to explain himself first; especially that of my believing, your Majesty would be more pleased with it, and take it as a piece of more Confidence from him. And having thought a while, he answered: That to shew your Majesty how frankly he would deal with you, and with how much Confidence he desired to live in all that passed between you: He would not make a Difficulty of explaining himself first, though he might have Reasons to do it. That if your Majesty had a mind to make a Peace, he thought you must do it upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle*; which you would have the more Ground for, because you had both made and warranted it. That for Exchanges, he thought there should be no other proposed upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy* for *Ayre* and *St. Omer*; which two last he thought imported a great deal more than the others, unless *France* would declare that they ended this War with the Prospect of beginning another; by which they may get the rest of *Flanders*. That this is all need pass between *France* and *Spain*; and for what concerns the Emper-

or and this State : That the Emperor having taken *Philipsburgh* from the *French*, should raise it ; and the *French* having taken *Mastricht* from this State, should raise that too. And so this whole War should pass, *comme un tourbillon qui avoit enfin cessé, apres avoir menacé beaucoup, et fait fort peu de remuements au monde.*

He said, for any other Interests that might be involved in this War ; it would not be necessary now to say any thing of them ; For if thus far were agreed on, the rest must follow one way or other. That the Emperor and *Spain* had proposed other Schemes to themselves by the War, and therefore desired the continuance of it, and would fall hardly into this ; but if your Majesty did, he would for his part do his utmost to effect it in concert with you, he hoped with them : And however desired to know what you thought fit to be changed in this Scheme he had drawn of it. I observed two things to his Highness upon it. *First*, that by it the Countrey of *Burgundy* would be restored to *Spain* ; with which Condition your Majesty was absolutely of Opinion when I last attended you ; that *France* would not hear of a Peace : And I thought nothing had since pass'd in the War to make you believe it less. *Secondly*, that after so many Con-
quests

quests made, and so many expected by *France* at this time ; it would be very hard to believe they could be brought to restore such Acquisitions as they were possess'd of, so very considerable, and without any Equivalent. He answered to the first ; That *Burgundy* could not be left in the *French* Hands, without restitution of several other Towns in *Flanders* : Upon which so many Debates would arise, as must of necessity draw the Business into great Lengths, and leave all to the decision of another Campaign. But if your Majesty persisted in your former Opinion upon that Matter, there was no way but finding out what was proposed by *France*, as the Equivalent of *Burgundy* upon the Treaty of *Aix*, and regulate it accordingly.

From the second he said I had reason, and he did not believe *France* would do it at this time upon other Motives than those of your Majesty's Interposition : But if they would not consent to these Terms, or some other near them that your Majesty should think fit to propose ; the War must go on, and God Almighty must decide it. That all the Allies beside this State desired nothing else ; and the *Spaniards* believed if Don *John* came to the Head of their Affairs, as he might very well be by this time,

time, it would be a new World with them : And the truth was, that Crown had great *Resources*, how ill use soever they made of them. That one good Town well defended, or one Battle well fought would change the Business. That for his own part, he would give in all that could be with his Majesty to bring about a general Peace, upon very moderate terms : But if *France* would make them insupportable, they would venture all rather than receive them ; and if they hoped the ill Conduct or ill Fortunes of their Allies would bring this State to make a separate Peace, let the Pensioner or any else tell me what they pleased, they should never do it whilst he was alive. And he would say one thing further to me, that he had it in his power to hinder it : That if he dyed, he knew very well it would be made next day ; but he did not trouble himself how the World was like to go when he was gone out of it ; and perhaps we were the Persons most concerned to look after that. This was the end of his Highness's Discourse ; and the last part of it was spoke with a good deal of Emotion : With which he rose up ; and I promised to represent the whole to your Majesty in the truest Lines and Colours I could possibly (as I have done here,) and he told me he would

would come to me before this Post went away, and put the two Letters he promised into my Hands.

I most humbly beg your Majesty's Pardon for a Trouble which should not have been so long if it had not been necessary ; and that you will please to accept that true and hearty Devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R ,

Your Majesty's &c.

To the KING.

Hague, Jan. 19th. S. N. 1677.

May it please your Majesty,

I Was forced to give your Majesty so large a Trouble by the last Ordinary, that I should not have the Confidence to renew it so soon, but that I think it becomes me to let your Majesty know ; that upon the closure of my last, the Prince came to me and shewed me the Letter he had writ to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, asking me whether it would reach what your Majesty

Majesty desired. I told his Highness what indeed I thought, that it was as full as could be wished towards the governing of his private Conversation, but that your Majesty expected something that might be open too and above board; which I thought could not be otherwise done than by a Memorial from the Ambassador to your Majesty in his Masters name. The Prince said, that though the Allies would take it ill, yet it should be done; and Orders should be sent him to that Purpose by the next. After this the Prince told me, he had writ to your Majesty, but not troubled you with the Detail of what had pass'd between us, having referred your Majesty wholly to me in that Point; and therefore he desired to see my Letter; which he read, and said it was not only what he said and meant, but all he could say till he knew more of your Majesty's Mind. In the mean time, that he looked upon this as the first Pace of Confidence between your Majesty and him: That he hoped it would go on from this time, and prove fortunate to you both. He said he should go to *Soesdyke* the latter end of this Week, and spend most of this Season between that and *Dieren*; at either of which Places he should be in my reach to *Nimeguen*, upon any thing that should come to me

me from your Majesty, and be necessary for him to know, and to take his Measures upon with me. I believe one Reason more is, that our Commerce there may pass with less Noise than this here has done; which has given his Allies so great Allarms of my being here, to Negotiate a separate Treaty with his Highness; that he would be glad to be out of the way; and avoid their Expostulations upon a Matter wherein tho' he does them no wrong, yet he makes them not of his Confidence as he has hitherto done; and is so hardned against those Delicacies he used to have in that Point; that upon the Emperor's Minister entring very deep with him yesterday upon the occasion of my being here; he contented himself only to tell him, that he had yet heard nothing of a separate Peace; but such a Conduct as that of the Emperor's had been these two last years, might put this State upon desperate Councils: And if *Flanders* must be lost, it was but what the Emperor seemed to intend; and that if he, the Resident pleased, he might write to *Vienna* what Answer he, the Prince, had made him.

I will add only, that as I doubt not, your Majesty will have what Helps his Highness can give you on this Side, towards effecting the Peace; so I cannot
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imagine you should meet with any Hindrances at home after these Instructions sent to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*; and after those two Letters I writ since my coming hither, to the two Secretaries of State upon the Appearances of a separate Peace; which I am confident were enough to convince all Men, that your Majesty cannot endeavour any thing at this time of more Safety to your own Kingdoms as well as Glory abroad; than the sudden Conclusion of a general one. I shall end this Trouble with the sincere Professions of that humble and hearty Devotion where-with I am, and shall ever be,

S I R,

Your Majesty's &c.

To the KING.

Hague, Jan. 22d. S. N. 1677.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Prince desired me this Morning to beg your Majesty's Excuse for those Orders I mentioned to Monsieur *Van Beun-*

Beuninghen, being not yet gone; for putting in such a Memorial to your Majesty, as might reach the End you desired. The Delay has been occasioned by Returns of the Pensioner's Illness, and the extraordinary Sessions of the States of *Holland*: But his Highness assures me, it will not fail of going by next Post. He desired me at the same time to tell your Majesty, that he has had reason given him to believe, *France* will be content to give *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, and *Courtray*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; so that he has been an ill Negotiator in what he last proposed; but hopes your Majesty is so much a Friend to the Preservation of *Flanders*, as to manage it to the best Advantage. I promised his Highness to say what he desired me to your Majesty, and in this manner to your own Hand, as he particularly desired it might be. But I must observe one thing I gathered from the Pensioner upon this Subject, which his Highness did not mention. Among many Overtures he has entertained me with from *France*, both general and particular to this State; he told me in a Visit to day, that *France* would be willing to give those four Towns for two, in case *Sueden* might be restored to all they had lost. I asked him what was to become of *Burgundy*, and he said; to

return to *Spain*, since the Proposition was the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, with only that Exchange ; and that he had it from a good Hand. I told both him, and afterwards the Prince, that I doubted it upon that Point of *Burgundy*. The Prince is of opinion, that if *France* be obstinate in not restoring *Burgundy*, some Temper might be found in leaving it Neutral by Agreement. The Prince goes to morrow to *Soesdyke*, and I shall return God willing, to *Nimeguen* the day after ; His Highness having concerted upon any necessary Communications from your Majesty, that I shall make a step thither or to *Dieren*, which will be done without much noise for a Night or two. I have been forced in my own Justification, to give Mr. Secretary *Williamson* this Night an Account of some Discourses of Monsieur *Colbert*, which I should not otherwise have mentioned. I hope your Majesty will think fit such Matters be private as they were intended, since at one time or other you may make use of that Disposition in him and others to enter a little further into Confidences with me than with other Ministers.

I am and shall be ever with perfect Devotion and Truth, S I R,

Your Majesty's &c.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, Jan. 22d. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

THE unusual Length of my Conference with the States Deputies last *Thursday*, left me no time to give you an Account of it that Post : And a Visit I received to day from the Pensioner hath left me no Occasion to trouble you with the Particulars of so long and warm Arguments as passed on both Sides upon it. I will only say, that the business of the three *Scotch* Ministers hath been the hardest piece of Negotiation that I ever yet entred upon here ; both from the particular Interests of the Towns and Province of *Holland*, and the general Esteem they have, of *Mackaird* being a very quiet and pious Man ; but chiefly from the firm Persuasion they have, of not being obliged to it by any bare Letter of his Majesty, without any Sentence having pass'd against them, by which they are adjudged Rebels or Fugitives : And on the contrary after a Sentence of Banishment against *Mackaird* and *Brown*, which they say is by

all Writers esteemed wholly to extinguish their Subjection, and consequently his Majesty's Right of declaring them Rebels after they are Banish'd, and become Subjects to another State. And they say, his Majesty would have no reason to take notice of any Letter from the States declaring any Man a Rebel, without a Copy of the Sentence pronounced against him to that purpose; the reciprocal whereof they expected likewise from his Majesty, upon these Occasions. But I found the King's Honour so far engaged in this Matter, by three several Letters which must have been publick; that I have left no sort of Arguments unessay'd with the Prince, the Pensioner, and Deputies both of the Provinces and Towns, to procure his Majesty's Satisfaction, and make it pass for a thing so necessary to dispatch, that it hath taken up two long Debates in the States of *Holland* these two days past, though their meeting was intended but for five days, and for no other Business but the Levies of Monies necessary for the Campaign; yet this Morning the Pensioner came to give me hopes that it might be effected this very day; and at least the assurance that he would use his utmost Endeavours in it; and that the Dispatch should be made by a Letter from the States to his Majesty,

Majesty, which should be put into my Hands to go by this very Ordinary ; so that I will reckon upon it as a thing done, unless I see my self forced to close this Packet without it. I inclose the States Resolution about the Ship *Thomas* and *John*, recommended by his Majesty's Letter, with the assurance of the like dealing on his Majesty's Side, in the like Cases. For the Merchant Adventurers of *Dort*, not only the Pensioner, but all the Deputies have renewed the former Assurances given me of its receiving a final Answer, next Ordinary Session of the States of *Holland* ; which is to be in *February*. And for the Ships taken upon pretence of Trading from Enemies to Enemies Port ; the States have upon my Instances Written a second Letter to the Admiralty of *Zealand*, to require their speedy answer ; upon which the Deputies promised their Endeavours to see Justice done in that Matter.

The Prince goeth early to morrow morning to *Soesdyke*, where he intends to pass as much of this Season as the Affairs here will give him leave ; And in case I receive the Satisfaction and Letter for his Majesty, I expect this Night upon the Affair of the three *Scotchmen* ; I shall begin my Journey towards *Nimeguen*, either to morrow morning or the day after, finding nothing

more that requires my Presence here, and being much pressed to my Return. In the mean time, having newly received yours of the 5th, I find a Paragraph in it, which I think it will be necessary to answer by this Dispatch, though I have not my Letters here, to which I might have some occasion to refer.

You are pleased to say upon the Subject of a separate Peace; that his Majesty puts much weight upon what I said in mine of the 5th, of Monsieur Colbert's many and particular Discourses to me, as well as the Mareschal d' *Estrades*, of their Desires to enter into this Matter of separate Negotiations and Measures with the Prince and this State; which are the Words of my Letter: And that you being called upon in the Point, could not find any thing mentioned till now, or at least, not so as that I had found cause to make that important Judgment I seemed in mine of the 5th, to have made upon it; which was, that I supposed there could occur no Difficulty on that Side, whenever it grows full ripe on the part of *Holland*.

I will confess in the first place; that if I never had met with the least Motive for this Supposition from any Discourses of the *French* Ambassadors; yet I should have been of the same Opinion, and never yet met

met with any Man that doubted it; since the Consequences of a separate Peace between *France* and *Holland* must be the Loss of *Flanders*, and the Dependance of this State upon *France*; which are too great Interests ever to be neglected by so Wise a Crown. But I shall now tell you what farther Reasons I had to believe it, from the Discourses I mentioned of the *French* Ambassadors, since you are pleased to put me upon it; and that which might before have passed for Vanity to trouble you with, is now grown necessary for my own Justification in what I writ to you upon this Subject.

You may please to remember what I writ to you upon my first particular Visits with those two Ambassadors, after my Arrival at *Nimeguen*; the Overtures and indeed Instances they made me apart of entering into particular Intelligences and Negotiations with me separately from my Colleagues, and in order to close any particular Measures that might be entered into between them and the Prince of *Orange*, by my Intervention. You acknowledged my private Letter to you upon that Subject; and said, you had shewed it his Majesty, but gave me no sort of Reflection upon it, either from his Majesty or your self; by which I might know whether it

was fit for me or no to entertain or encourage any such Commerce, distinct from my Colleagues : And thereupon I took up the resolution to avoid it, and to continue the Answers I had first made upon such Overtures, of my having nothing at all distinct from my Colleagues, either in his Majesty's Instructions, or (as they called it) his *Secret* ; or any thing that would bear me out in any separate Negotiations with the Prince ; or any other Steps than those of a General Mediator. Notwithstanding all this, Monsieur *Colbert* continued very particular Applications to me of this kind, but with Instances much more pressing about the time of the Prince's return from the Campaign ; and especially in two very long and designed Conversations, which he grounded upon Letters he had received to that purpose from the King his Master. His Discourses began with his most *Christian* Majesty's Esteem of my being able to contribute more than any Man to the Peace ; since it depended wholly upon the Prince of *Orange*, and I had more Acquaintance, and (as he would have it) Interest with his Highness than any other Minister. That nothing could be done of so much Service to the Prince, as inducing him to enter into particular Negotiations with the King his Master.

Master. That if they two could agree, the rest of the Parties must fall into the Measures they would take : The Kindness the most *Christian* King ever had for the Prince's Family, and Esteem for his Person : The Easiness he would shew in all that concerned particularly the Interests of his Highness and this State. And thereupon he pressed me by all possible Arguments to undertake the bringing about this Intelligence between his Master and the Prince. When I excused my self upon our Instructions being common to us all three, and empowering us only to Offices of a general Mediation : He told me, nothing else could make a general Peace ; and that it had never been made at *Munster*, but for the Duke of *Bavaria's* acting in the whole Matter, by concert with *France* underhand ; by which he received all the Advantages he could propose to himself : And the Prince of *Orange* ought to play the same Game in this present Treaty, and would certainly meet with the same Success. Nor was it once, or twice, or thrice only that I have been entertained with these Discourses ; nor from themselves alone, but from some of my Friends too upon their Suggestions ; which was enough to give me such a Supposition as you mention, that there could be

be no Difficulty on that Side, if the Thing
 should once grow to be ripe on this. How-
 ever, I suffered them to pass as Matters
 only of particular Conversation, and not
 worth troubling you with; since it was
 like to have no Effect, by my excusing
 my self always from entering into any
 such Intelligences without his Majesty's
 express Command, and by my finding no
 Appearances of the Prince of *Orange* giv-
 ing into any such Measures, though other
 ways have been made use of to give him
 the Impressions, by a continual Corre-
 spondence which Monsieur d' *Esstrades*
 holds with Persons here to that purpose.
 And I suppose you have reason to think
 I was not deceived; both by what I told
 you, the Prince said to me upon the Sub-
 ject of a separate Peace; the day after
 that long Discourse upon it with the Pen-
 sioner; and likewise by what his High-
 ness said to me since, that it should never
 be while he lived; and that it was in his
 Power to hinder it; which I then gave
 his Majesty an Account of. And yet I
 am of opinion, that if beyond all Expect-
 ation, the last Remises of Money had not
 come from *Spain*; and that the *Mediterra-*
nean as well as *Baltick* Fleets had come to
 be paid off, before any Money had been
 paid by *Spain* to the Admiralties here.
 The

The Prince would have found Difficulties to carry on the War without endangering a Mutiny at *Amsterdam*. On the other Side, I am very well persuaded to have given you in mine of the 5th, the true Scheme of what will be the Procedure of this State in the Treaty at *Nimeguen*: Which is, to enter into Matter as soon as they can, to adjust the Points that are particular between *France* and them; and after the Proposal of Satisfaction to their Allies, to leave the management of that Head to the Allies themselves; and so appear as to their own part to be *hors d'Affairs*, and thereby lye ready to take such Measures as Time and Conjunctions shall suggest to them. But, as the Prince's Firmness seems to secure this Point while he lives; at least, if he be right in the Calculation of his own Power: So, I am of his Highness's Opinion that nothing can prevent it, if any thing should happen to his Person. And that on the other Side, by all the Dispositions I discover here, both in the Prince and States, his Majesty hath never yet found a more favourable Conjunction towards the effecting what he hath so long desired, and

(300)

and employ'd so much of his Care in,
as the happy Mediation of a general
Peace ; wherein, I shall endeavour at
my Return to *Nimeguen*, to pursue his
Majesty's Intentions, both upon our
first Instructions, and those we continu-
ally receive from your Hands, by his
Majesty's Command.

I am ever,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Arnhem, Jan. 25. S.N. 1677.

My LORD,

I had only leisure in my last to acknowledge the honour of two I had then received from your Lordship, but shall now answer the Particulars of them, and give you as much Light, and as little Trouble by it as I can. The Offer his Majesty made the Prince, concerning an Alliance after the Peace, was received by his Highness with all the satisfaction that could be; and he said immediately upon it, that he would send it to the Pensioner to be communicated to some of the States, who he was sure would be as glad of it as he, and would take it as a Sign of his Majesty's concerning himself not only in his Highness, but in the safety of this Country: And that, for the Condition his Majesty requir'd, of no Alliances in prejudice of it; he supposed his Majesty did not mean those they were already engaged in, and he was sure they would enter into no new ones, but in concert with his Majesty, in case he would bring them out of this War: Upon which he desired

fired me to acquaint him with his Majesty's Thoughts. Thus far I had reason to believe the Advance made by his Majesty would not fail of having all the Effects your Lordship tells me you then proposed to your selves. But when I acquainted his Highness with the Substance of Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Letter, after calling up distinctly what it amounted to, he said, he would die rather than make such a Peace : And afterwards, that he would rather charge a thousand men with a hundred, tho' he were sure to die in the Action ; and several such desperate things as these. Afterwards he talked a great deal in colder Blood ; how lost he should be in Honour, to his Allies, and to all the World by such a Peace as this ; and that the pressing them to it would have the same effect as if he absolutely broke from them by a separate Peace. I told him, that whilst he consider'd his own honour on one side, his Majesty must consider his on the other, if he should now make such Propositions to *France* as his Highness desired, after having been their Ally in the War, and being now a Mediator. The Prince answered me, that when I spoke of his Majesty's Honour, I could mean it only in the Esteem of *France* ; for he believed every Body else would think it more honour in the King to make a reasonable

nable Peace, than to suffer *Flanders* to be lost : And thereupon he fell into a great deal of Discourse, what the Effects of that would be ; and whenever it was that this State must of necessity fall into an absolute dependance upon *France*, and could never think of defending it self by any Alliance with *England*. That this Country was not made to be the Stage of a long War, by being wholly a Place of Trade, which would all die when the Country came into that Condition. And that besides being of small extent, the taking of one or two Towns by *France*, would bring them into the heart of all their Provinces. I told his Highness, all that was true, but yet I knew him so well as to believe he would venture it rather than see this State grow a Province to *France*, as must follow that which he call'd falling into a dependance upon them, and that I knew he was not made to serve. He said, perhaps I was in the right ; and yet he believed he should do some desperate thing or other rather than come to it ; but that would do us no good ; and either with him, or without him, the thing must come to that issue, if *Flanders* were once lost. I told him, I believed the King was as unwilling to see that as his Highness ; but asked how his Majesty could propose such a Peace to *France* as he desir'd, after such a
War,

War, as the Allies had made for these two last Campaigns, and with such Appearances as were of the next, even in his own Opinion, and by the Pensioner's Discourses to me upon that Subject. The Prince said very plainly, that I had reason, and that they could not hope for such from *France*, as things now stood, unless either his Majesty's Kindness to him, or the Interest of his own Kingdom would put him upon letting *France* know that he desired it; and he was sure if that were done, they would come to easier Terms than he (the Prince) had already proposed. If the King would not make the Peace, he knew no Remedy, but must try how the Emperor would make the War; and if he would do it as the State had proposed to him, and as they had it in their hands at *Vienna*, to do if they pleased; he might yet hope for a Peace that way, since he could not do it this. That, for his own part, he must go on, since he was in; *Et quand on est à la grande messe on y est*; meaning, I suppose, one must stay till it was done, for there was no getting out.

I asked him, what I should say about his Majesty's Offer of Alliance; he said he could make no Answer till he had spoken with the Pensioner and the Commissioners of Secret Affairs, but he would say something

thing of it in his Letter to the King : But that was not the Business now ; it would be very well if the War were ended ; and should leave this State in a Condition to be defended : But they had now a Disease upon them that they were dying of, and we told them what they should do when they were recovered. Thus he ended the Discourse, and to say truth, the most unsatisfied that ever I saw him in my Life. And I have given your Lordship all the Particulars of this Conversation, which I had omitted in the Account I gave Mr. Secretary *Williamson* ; contenting my self to give him the Gross of it ; being by his Example induced to write a good deal in Cypher, when I had none with me that I thought fit to use in a Business of this Moment : And my own Eyes will not go through with it : And therefore I am apt to trust to a Conveyance, which in near six years Ambassy in this Country, never yet failed me once.

Your Lordship does me too great Honour in desiring my Opinion concerning the Terms of a Peace, as they now have passed between his Majesty and the Prince ; wherein I cannot presume to mix any sense of my own. The Prince told me absolutely, he had gone as low as he could, in his first Scheme I sent from the *Hague* : And

by what his Majesty was pleased to discourse to me with great freedom when I was last in *England*: I am not apt to believe he will go much farther than what he has already signified by Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Letter: So that I do not see any Appearance of their falling into a Concert upon this Matter; which I am sorry for, upon particular Reasons between his Majesty and the Prince, and upon general ones of the War, and Consequences of it. For I am apt to believe *Flanders* in danger of being lost this Summer, or in such a way to it, as not afterwards to be saved: And I doubt the Prince and Pensioner tell us the Truth of this State falling into an absolute dependance upon *France* whenever that happens. Because I remember *Monfieur de Witt* told me the same thing very often, after our Alliances with this State for the defence of it in 1668. And I know about three Months before those were made, when the *Dutch* despaired of our entering in to the defence of *Flanders* after the Peace of *Breda*, they had so perfectly agreed the Terms between them of dividing *Flanders*, that it was hindred only by the single Dissent of the Province of *Utrecht*. And the Pensioner in his Discourses at the *Hague* put me in mind of it, by saying, amongst other things they could have by a separate Peace,

Peace, that I could not tell whether they might not have *Antwerp* and *Ostende*, which I remember were part of the Conditions in *Monſieur de Witt's* Scheme. Upon the whole, conſidering how both his Maſteſty and the Prince ſtand tyed in different Points of honour upon this Matter; I know nothing like to ſalve all, unleſs upon this Reſolution in *Spain*, that Court ſhould be content to break their Marriage with the Emperor's Daughter, and endeavour it with *Mada-moiſelle* the Duke of *Orleans's* Daughter; and *France*, in conſideration of that Marriage, ſhould be content to part with ſome Towns in *Flanders*, more than they would do upon a Peace without a Match; ſince this way it would be done at leaſt with honour. I know not whether in ſuch an Affair his Maſteſty might not uſe both his laſt Offices in *France*, and a Perſonal Intereſt that he has (as I take it) in *Don John*.

This, for ought I ſee, can be the only Expedient between the two great Difficulties in the Peace; which are, that the Affairs in *Spain* are ſo ill in *Flanders*, that the Allies cannot think fit to make a Peace upon the preſent Foot, or any thing near it: And on the other ſide, thoſe of *France* are in ſo good, that it cannot be expected they ſhould eaſily be prevailed with to reſtore much by a Peace, when they are in ſo fair

Appearances of gaining still more by a War, at least in *Flanders* and *Sicily*.

If ever a Peace should be made, and leave *Flanders* in a condition of being defended, and the Prince alive ; I do not think there can be any difficulty in taking those Measures with this State which his Majesty has offered, and in the manner he shall desire. As for that Circumstance your Lordship mentions for me to endeavour the obtaining, especially having been offered before on this side , I take it to be a thing that must be established upon private and particular Confidence between the King and the Prince, and not by any publick or private Treaties, considering the Constitutions of this Government. And this I remember to have said to his Majesty upon it, and he was pleased to be of the same Mind.

Your Lordship will find in both our common Letters of last Post and this, of an Embarras fallen out between us and the Count *Kinski*, about the Communication of his Powers to the *French*, before that of the *French* to him. We have made the best Excuses we could ; but to the thing it self, the Truth is, it will not bear it ; tho' he may on t'other side be too rigid in the Offence he takes, and Satisfaction he expects. But there was a Fault made, and it neither was the first, nor will be the last ; and it

was fourty to one a greater had not been made next day; and such, as I believe, would have broken all Commerce between Us and some of the Ambassadors here,

I am,

My LORD,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Arnhem, Jan. 28. S.N 1677.

S I R,

MY last was of the 22^d from the *Hague*, the next day being *Saturday*, I visited the Pensioner upon my Resolution of going out of Town so soon as my Letters then due should arrive, the Prince being gone to *Soesdyke* that Morning. I told the Pensioner the Orders his Majesty had given us at *Nimeguen*, to take off, upon occasion, the Impression made there among the Allies of his Majesty's favouring a separate Peace; and asked him, whether he thought

it of service to the Prince, for me to say something of the same kind at the *Hague*, before I left it; the Jealousie having been as great among the Ministers there, as at *Nimwegen*: He told me it was not worth my while, and that he was content they should believe it, since it was in their Allies to help it or not as they pleased: That he had the day before told the Emperor's Minister in plain terms, that if the Conduct at *Kierina* continues what it had hitherto been, nay, if it did not fall absolutely into the Measures the State insisted on, by the 13th of next Month; this State would be forc'd to make a separate Peace, and he was content the Emperor should know it. I told him, it might be a fit Language to hold to the Emperor's Minister, but that I knew the Prince too well to believe it: That he had told me, it should be never while he lived; and that he had it in his power to hinder it; The Pensioner reply'd, that he should come to it with as much Regret as the Prince himself, but that his Highness might be forced to it by the ill Conduct of his Allies; and if not by that, by Mutinies of the People here upon ill successes of this next Campaign. That this late Revolution in *Spain* had shewed what could be brought about by the violent humour of a People, and that his Highness knew this

Coun-

Country too well, to go too far against it. That, in short, it would depend upon the Emperor and *Spain*; for if they took right and vigorous Measures, they might yet hope for a good Campaign; if they followed such as they had hitherto used; this State would be forced to a separate Peace, unless a general one could be made before the Action of this Year began. This is all I remember material in his Discourses, besides valuing what he had carried for his Majesty's satisfaction both in the States of *Holland*, and States General, so much against the humour of both in the Business of the *Scotch* Ministers, for whose departures, within the limited time, he said, Orders had been already given.

On Sunday Morning I received yours of *January 9th*, with the inclosed Pacquet from his Majesty; upon which I immediately began my Journey towards *Soesdyke*, where I arrived on Monday Afternoon; but met there only a Letter from the Prince, inviting me to come down to *Dieren*; his Highness having gone out that Morning a hunting, with intention to lie there that Night. On Tuesday Night I came to *Arnhem*, and yesterday Morning went to *Dieren*, where I found the Prince, and delivered both his Majesty's Letters. Upon reading the first, he seemed extremely pleased,

and said, it was all the assurance that could be given, and that he would send it that Afternoon to the Pensioner, to be communicated to the Committee of Secret Affairs, to whom he was confident it would be the welcomest thing that could be, and yet he would give them notice of the Secrecy required in it. I told his Highness, I hoped he observed the Condition specified, of making no Alliances in prejudice of this: He answered, that his Majesty could not mean those they had already; and for any new ones, he would undertake it while his Majesty continued in this Mind. After this he read the second Letter, and said it was only of Credence to me in what I should say of his Majesty's Mind about the Conditions of the Peace. I discoursed the whole over in the same manner and order, and as near as I could in the same Terms wherein I was instructed; valuing the whole as such a Scheme his Majesty thought possible to be obtained of *France*, rather than such as he thought to be wished, if the Matter were whole, and the Affairs of the Allies in a better Posture. I observed the Prince of Orange change Countenance when I named *Cambray*, yet he heard me go through the whole Scheme: And when he had done, he said, that Dinner staid, and that he would talk of it after he had dined: So we went
up,

up, but as he was near the Door, he turned and said; though we should talk more of it after Dinner, yet he could say in few Words all that was to be said to it; which was, that he must rather dye than make such a Peace.

After Dinner we fell again into the Discourse. He asked me distinctly the Particulars, and cast them up several ways what they would amount to, both as to the present State of Things, and that upon which the War begun: As, that *Spain* must by it part with *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Ayre*, and *St. Omer*; instead of the five Towns mentioned by his Majesty. He said I had spoiled his Dinner, that he had been thinking it over while he should have eat; but upon the whole, was of the same Opinion he told me at first upon it, and that all must be ventured since he was in, and there was no other Way out. I told him, I supposed he would give his Majesty his own Thoughts upon it; but hoped he would think it over a little more, and in all its Circumstances before he did it: He replied, that he would write that very Night to the King, and send me his Letter next morning, so as it might go by this Post: But that to save his Majesty Trouble, he would refer him to me for Particulars, and only touch some Points in general

rat. He then desired me to let his Majesty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me, upon this Matter of his own Thoughts, when he writ last to the King: That he had gone as low as he thought he could, with any regard to his Allies; or the Safety of this Country. That he doubted whether *Spain* would ever have been brought to it; but if his Majesty would have fallen in, he would have used his utmost Endeavours: But for this, he was certain they would not, though they were sure to lose all *Flanders* by the War; and that he would never propose it to them. That if *Holland* should make the Peace upon these Conditions, it would be the same thing as to make it separate, and would have the same Effects by losing wholly their Allies; and thereby casting their Dependance absolutely upon *France*; For if *Spain* were left in this State, *Flanders* could be defended neither by *Holland* nor by *England* it self, when ever *France* should think fit to invade it. That if *Flanders* were once lost, *Holland* could not possibly be defended by *England*, against *France*; and they would be forced to take their Measures with them, rather than be made the Stage of the War. That hereby, what his Majesty was pleased to offer in his first Letter, would come to have

have no Effect : And that it depended upon the Issue of the War, whether *Holland* would be left capable of being defended, or deserving the Honour of such an Alliance with his Majesty. He concluded, that what he said at first, was all that could be said from hence. That if his Majesty proceeded farther in this Matter ; it must be with *France* : And thereupon repeated what he had said several times before ; That if his Majesty either upon Kindness, to Him (the Prince) or consideration of what his own Crowns might be concerned in this Affair, would help him out of this War by a general Peace, upon any reasonable Terms ; there were no Measures his Majesty should desire, which he would not fall into with all the Readiness and Satisfaction that could be. If his Majesty would not concern himself so far in it, he must leave it to God Almighty to decide it as he pleased. I desired the Prince to think again, before he writ to his Majesty ; but he said he would certainly write to Night ; and that all he could think of any Business, was thought in an Hour's time ; and therefore he desired me to write this as his Answer : Which that I might not mistake, I repeated over as I apprehended it ; and his Highness said it was right ; and I have kept close to it in what

what I have written : Which is all I shall or indeed can trouble you with upon this Subject. And I think his Majesty has before him, from my several Dispatches since I left *Nimeguen* ; the perfect and clear State of all Matters and Dispositions as they play here, which yet may alter by the Accidents that the Spring or Summer shall bring forth ; but I believe not till then. Upon the closure of this I intend for *Nimeguen* ; and there fall into the Footsteps I left, and hope to recover my Health ; which has suffered a good deal by this Journey , and which I shall always reserve for the Occasions of his Majesty's Service.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your &c.

To

To the Prince of Orange.

Nimwegen, Feb. 6 S. N. 1677.

May it please Your Highness,

I Received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamson* by his Majesty's Command, in answer to the Account I gave him of your Highness's Discourses to me at *Dieren*, upon the Subject of his Majesty's last Letter to your Highness.

I find the King apprehends by the Way and Manner of your Highness's Answer (in return to what I discoursed to you there, as his Majesty's Thoughts in Confidence between you, about the Conditions of a Peace) that what his Majesty had offered upon that Subject, had not been rightly understood by your Highness or by me. Because, first, the Thing is not meant to be any Proposition that the King would make (which his Majesty thinks is not in his Part, nor has he any Authority to do it) but meerly a Confidence between him and your Highness, in return of what you were pleased to ask of his Majesty, by your Letter of the 15th past; upon which the King gave his Thoughts, framed and applyed particularly to what
your

your Highness had represented of yours, as to the main Conditions of a Peace.

Next, his Majesty observes; that the Change of *Cambray* was not a direct Part of the principal Scheme there offered; but is added in the second Place as what his Majesty proposes, were to be wished in his Opinion, for the making as it were, a double Frontier to *Brussels*; if it could be obtained from *France*. And farther his Majesty observes, there were six Towns proposed to be restored to *Spain* upon that Exchange; so as his Majesty is of opinion, that what he has proposed, if it could be got, would be better for *Flanders* (which is the great Thing the King thinks he ought to have in his Care) than what even your Highness proposes. And therefore his Majesty desires you would think a little farther of the Thing, and not let it fall so very flat as you seemed to do by your last Answer, without trying what it can be beaten out to: For Things of this kind cannot be expected to have their Perfection upon the first Essay; but must be wrought upon with Patience and Temper. And so his Majesty desires, your Highness will do in this; and let him know your farther Mind upon it, which his Majesty desires in the Point, for the great Care he is in, to have this Matter of *Flanders* secured before it be too late.

But

But if after all, your Highness still continues of your own Mind, and that you so desire it; his Majesty will very readily hand forward in the best Manner he can, this or any other Scheme your Highness shall think fit to have him hand towards *France*; and give your Highness the best Account he can of the Success it hath. But his Majesty cannot but think strange, the Thing having been taken up in Confidence between him and your Highness, and so resolved to be handled between you, should thus be wholly let fall by your Highness.

This being what I have order to write to your Highness upon this Subject, from his Majesty; I shall not presume to encrease your Trouble any further, than by the Professions of that Passion and Truth, wherewith I am ever,

Your Highness's most

Faithful and most

Obedient Servant.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Saeſdayke, Feb. 16. S. N. 1677.

S I R,

ON Friday last I received a Letter by an *Express* from the Prince, by which he desired me to meet him at this Place on *Sunday*, as I accordingly did. And had last Night a long Conversation with his Highness upon the Subject of my Letter to him; which as you will have observed by the Copy I sent you, was a perfect Extract of what you were pleased to write to me by his Majesty's Command of the 30th past. I repeated to him again his Majesty's Apprehension of his Highness having mistaken the Thing as it was offered by his Majesty. In regard that of *Cambrai* was not made a direct Part of the principal Scheme; but added only as the King's Opinion for making a sort of a double Frontier to *Brussels*, if it could be obtained from *France*. And also that by this Scheme there would be six Towns restored to *Spain*, whereas his Highness had reckoned there would be but five.

The

The Prince replied, he understood there would be but five of those that were given to *France* by the Peace of *Aix*; and that you had given *un autre tour à cette affaire, mais que cela ne change pas la chose*. But, that the Difference was plain between his Majesty's Thoughts and his: For his Majesty intended they should treat *sur le pied de ce que la France possédoit à présent, et que les échanges se feroient la dessus*. Whereas his (the Prince's) meaning was, that they should treat upon the foot of *Aix la Chapelle*, and that the Exchanges should be made upon That.

I told him, his Majesty desired however that he would think a little further of it, and not let it fall so suddenly; since his Majesty's design was the securing of *Flanders* before it were too late: And that however, if his Highness should continue of the same mind; the King would be willing to hand over to *France* any Scheme the Prince should think fit, and give him the best Account he could of it.

The Prince replied, that he had considered enough of it; but did not well know what he could say more upon it, at this time. That when he had first spoke to me of it at the *Hague*, he was not only very desirous of a Peace; but of opinion that it might have been compassed this

Winter, and thought it was fitter for him
 to address himself to his Majesty upon it,
 than go any other way ; both because he
 believed his Majesty desired the Peace, and
 was also concerned that *Flanders* should
 not be lost. That he had made *no pro-
 duce*, in telling the King his Thoughts
 upon the Terms ; and had some reason to
 hope, that *France* might have been con-
 tented with them, if his Majesty had fal-
 len into the same mind. That he was
 very sorry the King's Thoughts had been
 so different from his, and such as he is sure
 he cannot agree to if he be a Man of Ho-
 nour ; considering how he stands engaged
 to his Allies. That he is not at all confi-
 dent he could have brought them to what
 he had proposed ; but should however have
 endeavoured it, and whenever his Maje-
 sty's Thoughts come nearer his, that he
 shall be still glad to know them. But he
 now looked upon the Campaign as begun,
 and believed, at the very time we talked,
 the Guns were playing before *Valenciennes*,
 and that the Success of the Campaign
 would every day change the Pretensions
 of the Parties in point of the Peace. That
 for his own part, he now saw no hopes of
 it ; but expected a very long War, unless
Flanders should be wholly lost ; and in that
 case the States must make the best Terms
 they

they could. But he confessed he was of the *Spaniards* mind, that it was better to lose *Flanders* by a War than by a Peace. That he believed *Valenciennes* would be taken, and perhaps *St. Omer* too; and the more Towns were taken, the more Difficult the Peace would be, since there could be found no Equivalent for them upon a Treaty. That he expected a very ill Beginning of the Campaign, and to make an ill Figure in it himself; at least till the *Germans* took the Field: But he was in, and must go through with it; and the best was, that few Campaigns end as they begin. That he gave his Majesty Thanks for his Offer of handing any Proposition from him to *France*; but that was never his Meaning; for if it had, he could easily have found a directer way: But his Intention was to enter into a Confidence with his Majesty alone upon that Subject; and to owe a Peace to him if they had agreed upon the Terms. But if any thing be proposed to *France*, otherwise than as his Majesty's own Thoughts; it must be from the Alliance, and not particularly from him.

I asked his Highness whether he would not write to the King upon this Subject; but he excused it upon his having so many other Dispatches last night upon his Hands, and his going so early this morning to the

Hague : Upon which he desired me to let his Majesty know all we had been able to say upon it: I repeated it to him, as near as I could to what he had said; and upon his approving of it, immediately set it down in writing, according to what I have now transmitted to you.

His Highness went this Morning by five a Clock towards the *Hague*, and talks of going from thence in eight or ten days. I have stay'd here till this afternoon upon the Dispatch of my Letters, that I might not lose this Post; but am now returning towards *Nimeguen*; and shall not lengthen this Trouble beyond the Assurances of my being ever,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

To My Lord Treasurer.

Nimeguen, March 26th. S. N. 1677.

My LORD,

I Were not excusable to offer your Lordship many Troubles of this kind, at a time I know you have so many of another:

Yet

yet having lately received an Intimation from my Son, of your Lordship's Desire, to know if I had lately heard of any Project offered by the *French* to the Prince of *Orange* towards a Peace: I thought it became me to tell your Lordship my self, that since the Account I gave Mr. Secretary *Williamson* of what passed at my last Interview with his Highness at *Soesdyke*; I have not heard of any thing of that kind, farther than the Jealousys of *Don Pedro de Ronquilla*, about some private Negotiations between them upon the Articles of the *Marine Treaty*, which he the more apprehends by the Delays of the *Dutch Ambassadors*, to enter into that Matter here; as they pretended to do within few Days after the Exchange of the Pretensions between the Parties. If there be any thing of that kind on foot, I believe it is between the *Mareschal d' Estrades* and the Pensioner, by the Intervention of one *Pesser* (as I remember his Name is) who was Pensioner of the Town of *Mastricht* when the *French* took it; and who has kept up a Correspondence of Letters with the *Mareschal* ever since his Return into *Holland*.

The Pensioner had formerly shewed me several of those Letters in general Terms, about the Advantages the State might find in a Peace with *France*. And when I was

last at the *Hague*, he told me he newly received two with very particular Overtures. I would fain have seen them, but he excused it upon knowing that I was bound to give an Account of them to Court; and suspecting that no other Use would be made of them there, but communicating all to *France*, which would lose the Pensioner's Credit upon such Occasions.

On the other side, Monsieur *Colbert* and *d'Avaux* have told me, that the Reason of their Master's sending Monsieur *d'Estrades* hither instead of the Duke *de Vintimille* (who was in the first Commission) was the Possession he had given the Ministers in *France*, of the great Correspondences he had in *Holland*. Upon which Point tho I know he is very pretending; yet I do not think it goes farther than what I have mentioned, and had not reached any thing particular with the Prince when I saw him last.

Besides, I left his Highness fully resolved upon the Prosecution of the War this Campaign, without more Thoughts of the Peace after that Transaction with his Majesty had failed: And I hear *Dou Fabre* has not only performed with him in what Payments were due to the Admiralty at *Amsterdam*; but in an Advance of 50000 Crowns, and a Fund for the rest of his High-

Highness's Personal Debts from *Spain*, and likewise had establish'd a Course that will not fail for the transmitting two hundred thousand Crowns a Month for the Affairs of *Flanders* and Payment of the Allies. So that I do not well see what can prevent the Course of this Campaign, unless the Emperor should fail in what he assured the Prince of *Orange*, concerning the Motions and Conduct of the *German* Armies, either by the Uncertainty of the Councils at *Vienna*, between the differing Factions of the Duke of *Lorrain* and *Montecuculi* in that Court ; or by the faltering of some of the Princes of *Germany* in the Alliance, which has been of late suspected of the Dukes of *Lunenburg*. In these Cases, or any other that shall hinder the *German* Armies from drawing off the *French* Forces from *Flanders* into *Germany* ; it will not be in the Power of the Prince of *Orange* and the *Spaniards* to save the rest of *Flanders* this Summer : And what Measures that will draw on of force ; between his Highness and *France*, I cannot tell. But otherwise, if the *Germans* perform what they have promised their Allies, it may be a warm Summer on that side ; and the poor Remainder of *Flanders* after the loss of *St. Omer* and *Cambrai* (which the *French* Ambassadors here assure themselves of) may

be saved by Diversion; for otherwise it never can.

Thus I believe that Affair plays at present. In the mean time I must confess to your Lordship, I was troubled to find the Prince go into the Field, so ill satisfied with that Scheme of Peace, which his Majesty by Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Letter, ordered me to communicate to him: And the more, because some Words he let fall in the heat of Discourse, made me doubt; if he should have a mind hereafter to make any Overtures to *France*, he might do it by some other way than by his Majesty. For as to the Thing itself, he thought what the King proposed was the utmost that *France* would have asked. Nay, he said he had Reason to believe when he spoke to me first; that *France* would have accepted even what his Highness mentioned, if his Majesty would but have proposed it as his own Opinion: And he wondered his Majesty would not make that Pace; and at least send his Highness the Answer of *France* upon it, Then for the Manner, he was as much unsatisfied as with the Matter of it. He said, Mr. Secretary *Williamson* thought he could make him mistake the Thing by giving it *un autre tour*; and that he could satisfy him with *la*

crème

crime faite. And asked, why such Dealing with so plain a Man as he (the Prince) was. And said, that if he had thought *qu'on auroit pris l'affaire de cet air-là*, he would never have troubled them with it in *England*; and could have found a nearer way to *France*.

I said what I could to satisfy him; But he has a Way of falling downright into the Bottom of a Business, and is to be dealt with no other way that ever I could find; and upon this Occasion, said a great deal very sharply of some of the Kings Ministers dealing artificially with him, and believing they could talk him into any thing: Which he said, was not a Way to do Business, and only shewed the mean Opinion they had of him, that they thought was to be dealt with by such Methods as those.

I am ever,

My LORD,

Your, &c.

To

To Mr. H-----

Nimwegen, May 17th. S. N. 1690.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge the Favour of one from you of the 8th, and the Testimonies it gave me of the continuance of your Kindness to me, and remembrance of our Conversation here, which I question not will begin again where it ended, at what time, or in what place soever it happens to be renewed. Since you tell me you know no more of your return hither than I find by your Letter, I will enter no farther upon a Discourse you seem resolved to let fall, but attend the effect of those good Words you give me, about employing me in your Service here, when you begin to look this way. I suppose this day will for the present have turned your Thoughts upon another Scene, and by the Motions whereof they here either hope or fear that the Measures of this will be influenced.

For my part, I am so much a Stranger to the Councils in *England*, that I cannot pretend to give my self the least Account of them upon this Occasion, and much less to
other

other men that are very inquisitive after them. And am very well content to be so; for you know all my Politicks are at an end with that of my late Negotiation at the *Hague* : And I pretend no more than to do a plain Duty while I am in these Employments, and pass a private easy Life after this is ended ; and instead of Care to mend the World, busie my Thoughts no farther than with that of mending my self. All we wish is, that we might at one time or other lose the Reproach I told you, of *Fluctuation perpetuelle*, and resolve for good and all what Ends and Points are fittest for us to pursue, and then bend our Endeavours in steddy Courses to bring them about ; and when one way fails, try another, as we have good Examples. And I think in Politicks as well as Morals, it is a good Question of one of your Friends and mine, tho' our Colleague's Enemy,

*Est aliquid quo tendis, & in quod dirigit arcum,
An passim sequeris corvos ?*

And there I leave all these kind of Thoughts, and wish you happy success in this Session of Parliament you are entring, and the good Fortunes and Entertainments you propose to your self at Court, or any where,

where, and to my self many Occasions of
expressing how much I am,

Your most Faithful

and most Humble Servant.

To my Lord Bishop of
R O C H E S T E R,

Nimeguen, May 21st, S.N. 1677.

My LORD,

I Am unacquainted with Thanks or Prai-
ses, having so little deserved any, that
I must judge of them rather by the Report
of others, than by any Experience of my
own. But if by either I understand any
thing of them, all the Charm or Value they
have, arises from the Esteem a man has of
the Person that gives them, or the belief, in
some measure, of his own deserving them:
The first of these Circumstances gave so
great an Advantage to those I had lately the
honour of receiving from your Lordship in
a Letter delivered me by Mr. Dolben, that
the want of the other was but necessary to
allay

allay the Vanity they might otherwise have given me. But where a man can find no ground to flatter himself upon the Thanks he receives, he begins to consider whether they are Praise or Reproach : And so I am sure I have reason to do in the Acknowledgments your Lordship is pleased to make me of any Favours to your Son, who has never yet been so kind to me as to give me the least Occasion of obliging him. I confess I should have been glad to meet with any, tho' I do not remember so much as ever to have told him so ; but if he has guest it from my Countenance or Conversation, it is a Testimony of his observing much, and judging well; which are Qualities I have thought him guilty of, among those others that allow me to do him no Favour but Justice only in esteeming him. 'Tis his Fortune to have been beforehand with me, by giving your Lordship an occasion to take notice of me, and thereby furnishing me with a Pretence of entring into your Service ; which gives him a new Title to any I can do him, and your Lordship a very just one to employ me upon all Occasions.

Notwithstanding your Lordship's favourable Opinion, I will assure you, 'tis well for me that our Work here requires little Skill, and that we have no more but Forms to deal with in this Congress, while the Treaty

Treaty is truly in the Field, where the Conditions of it are yet to be determined. *Fata viam inuenient*; which is all I can say of it: nor shall I increase your Lordship's present Trouble beyond the Professions of my being,

My LORD;

Your Lordship's

most Obedient

Humble Servant,

To my Lord Treasurer.

Albany June 25. S. N. 1677.

My LORD,

IF I pretended to make your Lordship the acknowledgments I owe for the Honour and Kindness of your last Letter, this I am sure would be made up of nothing else. And therefore when I have assur'd your Lordship that no man could be more obliged than I was by it, nor more sensible than I was up-

on

on it, I shall tell you without more Circum-
 stance, what my Thoughts have amounted
 to upon the Consideration of that Proposal
 you are pleased to make me from the King.
 His Majesty has always been so gracious to
 me, but so much more particularly in the
 opinion of my being capable of serving him
 in that Station your Lordship mentions;
 that if I were worth that Sum, or a greater
 than what it seems Mr. Secretary Coventry
 expects, I would the readiest in the World
 lay it down, either upon this Occasion, or
 any other; or upon none at all besides the
 least signification of his Majesty's Pleasure.
 But in the Condition of my Fortune, I will
 assure your Lordship, it were as easy for me
 to coyn it, as to find it any other ways; my
 Father living still, and keeping the whole
 Estate of the Family: And the best Husban-
 dry in such Employments as mine have
 been, reaching no farther than to bring the
 Year about, unless upon the change of them
 some Presents attend it. But, if either it
 should arrive, that I should outlive my Fa-
 ther, who is very infirm; or that this Em-
 ployment should end with the Presents usu-
 al to Mediators, I shall leave it wholly to
 his Majesty to command me how to dispose
 of any thing I shall thereby possess. And I
 am of opinion upon the general Prospect I
 have into the Affairs of *Christendom* from
 my

my Station here, that I shall easily see to the end of this Employment, as soon as this Campaign is done : And that within three Months after we shall either fall into the War, or shall see a Peace of one sort or other.

In either of these Cases my Figure here determines; and shall do so in *Holland* too, if his Majesty gives me leave; and the Presents of this last will bring something into my Purse, tho' the other should fail, and go a little way towards what your Lordship proposes. And 'tis possible that in the mean while I may be a little necessary to his Majesty's honour in this very Post, where it happens unfortunately, that tho' the wise Paces a Minister makes may never be worth taking notice of, yet he lies every day in the way of making ill ones; and upon them lies as open both to his Majesty's Dishonour and his own, as perhaps in any Employment of the World besides.

Upon Mr. *Secretary Coventry's* Part in such a Delay I can say little, but hope his Majesty will be content, at the least for so long, to keep a good Servant, instead of hazarding an ill one ; And I think the Bargain between my Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Secretary Williamson* depended a great deal longer than this can do ; tho', as I remember, it was but six thousand Pounds that was gi-

won between them, and my Lord *Arlington*
 gave my Lord *St. Albans* ten. And if his
 Majesty should have a mind in the mean
 time to excuse himself from admitting any
 other, by saying he is engag'd; he may ve-
 ry well do it upon what he was pleased to
 say to me in the Year 1674. after the Peace
 was made, when I made my Acknowledg-
 ments as well as Excuses upon the Offer of
 going Ambassador into *Spain*: That he in-
 tended me a better Thing; and that tho' he
 was then engag'd, yet when it fell again I
 should have it. I do not say this to lay the
 least hold in the world upon any such Pro-
 mise, but to furnish his Majesty with the Ex-
 cuse of being engag'd, if he should think fit.
 Otherwise it is a Thing I absolutely forget;
 whenever his Majesty does so: And if he
 finds any other person he thinks fit to
 bring into the Place, I shall however upon
 my return from hence, either in any other
 Station, or in none, endeavour the rest of
 my Life to deserve his Majesty's Opinion,
 of being either as good a Servant, or a least
 as good a Subject as any he has.

I had a Letter this last Week from the
 Prince, wherein he was pleased to give me
 some Account of *Monsieur Bentinck's* Journey
 and Return, extreamly to his Highness's sa-
 tisfaction, as to all that passed from his Ma-
 jesty upon that Occasion. As to your Lord-

Z

ship's

ship's part, he says these Words : *Je l'ay eue
particulièrement adreſſé à Monsieur le Grand
Treſorier, qui en a uſé d'une maniere ſi obli-
geante, & luy a parlé avec tant de franchise,
que je ne puis m'en aſſés louer.* If he can ſuc-
ceed in the Deſires I know he has, of mak-
ing a Journey into *England* when the Cam-
paign ends, I believe ſo much of his Inclina-
tions towards a Peace (that may in any
kind ſave his honour and the reſt of *Flanders*)
that I am confident the King and his High-
neſs, if they meet, will take their Meaſures
together upon that Matter, and upon the
future Conduct of both their Allies.

I aſk your Lordſhip's Pardon for ſo long
a Trouble, which yet muſt not end without
the Repetition of all the moſt ſenſible Ac-
knowledgments that can be made you for
ſo much Favour as has obliged me to be for-
ever, and with as much Reason as Paſſion,

My LORD,

Your &c.

To

To Sir John Temple.

Sheen, August —. 1677.

S I R,

Since the Account I gave you lately from *Nimeguen*, of my Son's coming to me, the Errant he was sent on, and the Answer I had returned thereupon to his Majesty, I thought that Affair would have slept at least for some time : But within a Fortnight after I received by Express a Command to repair immediately into *England*, without so much as any notice of the Occasion. I accordingly left *Nimeguen* the 5th of *July*, and had a very good Passage over in a *Tacht* that was sent for me to the *Briel*. The first time I saw the King, he was pleased to call me into his Closet, and to tell me, I knew the Occasion of my coming over, from what my Lord Treasurer had lately writ to me by his Command : That he had seen my Answer, and was however resolved I should come into that Post. That he knew no man was so fit to serve him in it as I ; and since he found I was not able to bear the Charge of coming into it, he was content to do it himself. That upon my coming over, Secretary

Coventry had taken a great Allarm; and tho' he had before been willing to part with his Place, upon the Terms my Lord Treasurer had propos'd to him, yet he had upon this Occasion come to him (the King) and told him the Reports he met with from all hands, of my being sent for over to come into his Office. That he hoped he had at least deserv'd by so long Services, not to be turn'd off without giving him so much time; that his Friends and the World might see it was a Choice of his own rather than the King's. His Majesty said, he had told him, that he need not trouble himself any farther about it, and that when he took such a Resolution, he would tell him of it himself; and that this was all he had said till he spok'd with me.

I gave his Majesty my humble Thanks, as became me upon such an Occasion; but said, I thought Secretary *Coventry* had great Reason in what he desir'd: That he was a very worthy Gentleman, and had serv'd him long: And therefore I made it my humble Suit to his Majesty, that he would not part with him to make room for me, till he himself should be content. The King bid me speak with my Lord Treasurer about it; and so this Matter rests; and I am sure shall do so for me: For my Friends must pardon me if I cannot overcome the Coldness I have

at heart upon this Occasion ; to say no more.

Some days after, the King seeming to be in great Apprehensions for the Prince of Orange's Person, upon the Hazards he is continually exposed to, and likewise for the success of the present Campaign ; considering the *French* forces now in the Field, and how ill the Prince is seconded by his Allies, told me, he had a mind I should go over to him, and try whether he would fall into such Terms of a Peace as his Majesty might hope to get accepted by *France*. That in case any such could be agreed on before the Campaign ended, he should be glad to see the Prince here, having consented to it when *Monsieur Bentinck* was in *England*. I told his Majesty, that I was confident he knew the Prince's Mind upon the Terms of a Peace without sending to him, by all that passed in that Negotiation between the Prince and me last Winter ; and that I believed nothing could alter him, unless it were some great Change of Affairs by the good or ill success of this Campaign, which was not yet near an end : And when it was done, since his Majesty was content the Prince should come over, they would much easier agree when they were together, than by any Minister between them, in how much Confidence soever.

I was extremely pressed for some days upon this Journey, and had no mind to it, knowing how unwelcome it would be to the Prince while he was in the Field, for many Reasons; and how ill it would answer the End for which his Majesty intended it; and therefore at last told the King and Duke together, that if they were resolved to make the Tryal, I desired they would do it by another hand: That I had spent all my shot last Winter, and left the Prince fix'd upon a Stand which I was sure he would make good as long as he could: That Mr. *Hyde* was now idle here; who having upon his Return from *Poland* received a Commission to appear as one of the King's Mediators, during the short stay he should make at *Nimeguen*; and there being now but one Ambassador of the King's there, I thought there was nothing so proper as for Mr. *Hyde* to return to *Nimeguen* in that Figure, how little soever there was to do; since by our Original Commission, there ought to be two to act in that Mediation. That upon his Journey he might see the Prince of *Orange*, and pursue such Instructions as his Majesty should give him upon that Occasion.

This was approved and resolved on; and Mr. *Hyde* is well enough pleased with the Employment; which renews his Character at *Nimeguen*, that was before but a Compliment

ment to him as he passed by that place: Tho' I have, as a Friend, told him beforehand what success he is like to meet in his Journey to the Prince; and he reckons upon it.

This is all the present Account I can give you of my self, whatever you will meet with in the News-Papers that run abroad, and have made me Secretary of State already; so that I receive twenty Impertinent Compliments upon it, and Applications for Places in the Office. But I am, I thank God, in an easy Place here at *Shrew*, where I spend all the time I can possibly, and never saw any thing pleasanter than my Garden and the Country and River about it, which I was grown almost a Stranger to. I think here often of *Sancho*, that said, he had got nothing by his Government, but the knowledge that he was not fit to govern any thing besides his Sheep. And that I have got by ~~knowing~~ a Court; and the Course of Publick Affairs; that I am not fit to serve in one, nor to manage the other; which is all I shall say in excuse of my Conduct: And you and my Friends will be content I shall at least take a little Breath, and see the Issue of the present Campaign abroad, and of the Prince's Journey hither at the end of it, before I take any new Measures, or fall into any new Engagements.

My Wife and Family continue still at *Nimoguen*; only my Sister and *Jack* are with me here, and both seem as kind to *Sheen* as I am. We are confident you would be so too, if you could resolve of seeing it once since the Alterations made here; that you might have a share in the Pleasure of them, as well as you had in the Charge.

We long to hear of your good Health, having, I doubt, lost some Letters by our sudden Removals,

I am ever,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

To Sir *John Temple*.

London, Nov. ---. 1677.

S I R,

Though I do not trouble you often with publick News or Business; yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which I know you will be more pleased with than

any

any you have been entertained with a great while. For I remember how often and how much you have desired to see the Prince of *Orange* married here ; not only from your good Wishes to him, but from your Apprehensions of some greater Matches that might befall us, and with Consequences ill enough to Posterity as well as to the present Age. I am in a good deal of haste at this present time, and therefore shall sum up a great deal in a little room. The Prince of *Orange* came to the King at *Newmarket*, where he was mighty well received both of King and Duke. I made the Acquaintance there between the Prince and my Lord Treasurer ; and in such a manner as tho' they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very soon into Confidence.

The Prince said not a Word to any of them of any Thoughts of a Wife while they staid at *Newmarket* ; and told me, no Considerations should move him in that Affair till he had seen the Lady. The day after he saw her here, he moved it to the King and Duke ; and tho' he did it with so good a Grace that it was very well received ; yet in four or five days Treaty, it proved to be entangled in such Difficulties, that the Prince sent for me one Night, and uttering his whole Heart, told me, he was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart

heart, of his Journey, and would be gone within two Days, and trust God Almighty with what would follow ; and so went to Bed the most melancholy that ever I saw in my Life. Yet before Eleven a Clock the next Morning, the King sent me to him to let him know he was resolved on the Match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the Prince's own Way.

Thus far, what had pass'd went no farther than the King, the Duke, the Prince, my Lord Treasurer, and me : But, that Afternoon it was declared at the Foreign Committee, and next day at Council ; you will easily imagine with what general Joy. I cannot but tell you, that no man seems to lay it to heart so much as my Lord *Arlington* ; having had no part in it ; which he could not but take notice of to the Prince, who told me his Compliment to him upon it was, That some Things, tho' they were good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the manner of doing them ; but this was in it self so good, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it. I am told he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me ; which I must bear as well as I can : But yet because you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, that it was not only impossible my Lord Treasurer and he should concur in one thing, but he had likewise lost

all

all the Prince's Confidence and Opinion; since his last Journey into *Holland*. Besides, for my own part, I found these two Years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the Prince, nor with the Treasurer; but endeavoured by *Sir Gabriel Sylvius* to break the fist by Steps which the Prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me the last whenever I went to him; though he himself had first advised me to apply my self to my Lord Treasurer all I could, upon my last Ambassy into *Holland*: And though I had ever since told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my Lord Treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the Marriage the King and the Prince have fallen into the Business abroad, and agreed upon the Terms of a Peace, which the King will offer to *France*, and such as they both conclude will secure *Flanders*. They both agree that I must of necessity go to *Paris* immediately upon this Errand, and bring a positive Answer from that Court within a time prefix'd. I never undertook any Journey more unwillingly, knowing in what Opinion I stand already at that Court; how deeply they
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resent the Prince's Match without their Communication, or the least Word to their Ambassador here; and with how little reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this Errand. But the King will absolutely have it; and so I have made all my small Preparations, and think to be gone within two Days; which is all at present, but to ask your Blessing, and assure you of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To the Prince of Orange.

London, Decemb. 8th. 1677.

May it please Your Highness,

I Should by last Post have rejoiced with your Highness upon the News of your happy Arrival, and upon the Resolutions that have been taken here since you went ; in those Affairs wherein your Highness is so deeply concerned : But that my Lord Treasurer's Letter to you upon this Subject was so long and so particular, that nothing could be added to it for your Highness's Information or Satisfaction : And therefore I resolved not to trouble you with the same thing by that Post, and from so much a worse Hand. I suppose my Lord Ambassador *Hyde* will have shewed your Highness, his Instructions and Mr. Secretary's Letter upon that Occasion ; which agreeing so fully with what my Lord Treasurer writ, must have left you in no doubt of those Resolutions being taken here. And yet I thought your Highness would not be displeased to know from me, that I am of Opinion they are so ; and which is more, that the Duke will go up to as great a Height in them as any Man, in case *France* gives

gives them the occasion by their Answer to what Mr. *Mountague* goes away with to day ; and that his Highness will absolutely conclude from thence, what their good Intentions are or have been to the King : Though I have this second time excused my self from attending upon your Highness, and thereby devolved his Majesty's Commands upon Mr. *Hyde* once more ; yet I hope your Highness will pardon me, since I have only reserved my self for the next Occasion, which I expect will be of more moment, and within a very little time. For the present, I only desire your Highness will please to give your Answer to what Mr. *Hyde* carries you, in such manner as may be fully to his Majesty's Satisfaction ; and if you should scruple the doing it to any other Hand, that you would at least do it in a private Letter to his Majesty's own, which may not go farther than to those Hands by which all your Highness's Concerns have hitherto been transacted.

I hope your Highness will think to write particularly to the Duke as well as the King, in acknowledgment and applause of these late Resolutions ; and my Lord Treasurer will deserve it too by the great Part he has had in them.

I ask your Highness's Pardon for the Length and Confidence of this Letter; and your Justice in believing me ever, what I shall ever be, with a perfect Devotion,

S I R,

Your Highness's &c.

To My Lord Treasurer.

Shew, May 18th. 1678.

My LORD,

Finding my self something recovered of my Illness, which hindred me from waiting upon your Lordship before I left the Town; I could not but let you know how very sensible I was of what you last told me with so much Kindness, about his Majesty and Royal Highness having been so much displeased with some of my late Discourses to his Majesty; though your Lordship could not tell me more of them, than that they were some Popular Notions: As likewise the great Dissatisfaction his Majesty would receive at the
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Difficulties I made to enter into an Affair which belonged not at all to my Post ; and wherein his Majesty had not done me the Honour to acquaint me with the Deliberation or Digestion of it. I must confess, the Sense of his Majesty's Displeasure (which I never deserved) has been so great a Mortification to me ; that, to shew how much I have ever been concerned in his Majesty's Service and Satisfaction, and how little in any Advantages of my own. I have resolved most humbly to lay at his Majesty's Feet, not only my two present Ambassies, but also the Promise of the Secretary's Place ; which his Majesty was pleased long since to make me so graciously, and of his Motion. Therefore whenever his Majesty pleases to order me a Letter of Revocation to the States-General (which I shall send over to my Secretary at the *Hague*) and give me Leave to send for both my Families away from the *Hague* and *Nimeguen* : I shall upon it come and beg the Honour of kissing his Majesty's Hand, and make him my humble Acknowledgments for the undeserved Honours he hath done me, by so many and so great Employments abroad, as well as by designing me so much a greater at home. I shall at the same time assure his Majesty of my Resolutions, to pass the rest of my
 Life

Life in the constant and hearty Wishes, and Prayers for the Honour and Safety of his Majesty and his Kingdoms; and, that how mean a Servant soever I have been, he shall find me as good a Subject as any Man alive.

For what I ought to say to your Lordship upon this Occasion; I shall leave it till I wait upon you, being resolved by all means possible to preserve the Honour of so long an Acquaintance, and of so much Favour as your Lordship's to me. And, as during all my Employments I never yet asked any thing of his Majesty besides the bare Pay of them, nor ever used to trouble your Lordship about any Business of my own, so I shall continue the same Course at the end of them, and leave to my Wife the Pursuit of what his Majesty owes me upon them; that so your Lordship may ever reckon upon all the Services, and never upon any Trouble from

My LORD,

Your Lordship's &c.

To the Duke of ORMOND.

London, July 2d. 1678.

My LORD,

THE Account I gave your Grace by my Brother, of my not writing, was so true ; that though I was very sorry I had it for so long together, yet I know your Grace was so just as to receive it. I will not presume to say 'tis now at an end, because That God Almighty can only tell ; but yet thus much is certain, that I am just now going aboard for *Holland*, and upon such Measures as his Majesty seems more resolved to pursue, than ever I thought to see him ; in case the States will be prevailed with to fall in to them. He will be sure to have all the Help the Prince can give him, who seems to have recovered a new Soul upon this Incident from *France* ; which has given at least, the Appearance and Overture of new Measures in the World. The Truth is, this Refusal to restore the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Towns till the Restitution of *Sueden* has been so plain Language, that it has at present opened many Eyes both here and in *Holland*, which have long been shut to all our cost ;
but

but whether they are proof against all Charms, I will not venture to determine. I can only assure your Grace, that the Duke has been the most constant that can be imagined, in this Opinion of the *French Designs* and Intentions to his Majesty, ever since my Lord *Feversham's* Return; and declared himself the plainest that ever I heard, yesterday at the Foreign Committee: That nothing could be more evident than that *France* intended a Universal Monarchy, and nothing but *England* could hinder it; and that without it the King would endanger his Crown. And for his Majesty, I have some particular Reasons* (which I cannot entertain your Grace with at this Distance) to believe that he is perfectly cured of ever hoping any thing well from *France*, and past the Danger of being cajoled by any future Offers from thence.

* *The Secret of the King and Dukes being so eager and hearty in their Resolutions to break with France at this Juncture, was as follows.*

France in order to break the force of the Confederacy, and elude all just Conditions of a general Peace, resolved by any means to enter into separate Measures with Holland; to which end it was absolutely necessary to engage the good Offices of the King of England, who was look'd upon to be Master of the Peace whenever he pleas'd. The Bargain was struck for either 3 or 400 Thousand

pounds. But when all was agreed, Monsieur Barillon the French Ambassador, told the King; That he had Orders from his Master, before Payment, to add a private Article; by which his Majesty should be engaged, never to keep above

Eight Thousand men of standing Troops in his Worst Kingdoms: This unexpected Proposal put the King in a Rage, and made him say,——'d's filth, does my Brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his Promises to make me absolute Master of my —— come to this? Or, does he think That a Thing to be done with Eight Thousand Men.

'Tis possible I may be a little mistaken as to the Sums of Money, and Number of Men; but the main of the Story is exactly as I had it from the Author.

So that I see nothing left to shake his present Resolutions, but the fear of being well seconded in them at home or in *Holland*: The last I shall soon be able to give his Majesty an Account of; but the first I must leave to others that are better Acquainted with the Scene, where that Game must play. I am of Opinion, both that must be plaid ill, and the War managed ill to fail if we go into it: But I have no reason to believe but both those may very well befall us. All that is to be said is; that all Men agree the present Measures are of absolute necessity; since no *penchant* to a Peace can bring it about if another will have a War; and if it must be at one time or another, though this may be a worse than any past; yet it is a better than any like to come.

This is all I can say worth your Grace's Trouble; at least, if this it self be so. For I am sure nothing can be so unnecessary as to repeat any of those Professions I have
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so long made, and justly of my being
ever, and with as much Passion, as I am
sure it is with Reason and Truth,

My LORD,

Your Grace's most

Faithful and most

Humble Servant.

To Secretary Williamson.

Hague, July 14th. S. N. 1678.

SIR;

I SET Sail on board the *Catharine*
Yacht at two a Clock after Noon on
Tuesday; and landed at *Rotterdam* about
the same Hour next day. I came imme-
diately to the *Hague*, and went strait to
the Prince at *Houmsladyke*, where I arri-
ved about eight a Clock, and staid till E-
leven; and thought it my Duty to give
his Majesty an Account of our first Dis-
courses.

When I had entertained his Highness at large with the Subject of my Journey, the Dispositions raised in his Majesty by this last unexpected Accident from *France* upon the Point of concluding the Peace : The necessity of knowing fully the Mind of the States in order to joyn with them, and the firm Resolutions his Majesty had taken upon it, in case *France* persisted in the Refusal of the Towns : and this State in not admitting the Peace without it. His Highness told me, the last Point was the chiefest of all ; which was, the Firmness of his Majesty's Resolution in this Matter, upon which all would depend ; since nothing else could dispose either *France* to make the Peace, or this State to any firm Resolutions of continuing the War. When I had endeavoured, and I think succeeded in satisfying his Highness in this Point, by telling him many Circumstances in the Game in *England*, as it has played for some Months past ; and many Reasons his Majesty had given me to believe how unsatisfied he had been of late with the dealing from *France*. The Prince told me how glad he was to receive this Notice from me : That, for this last Incident in the Peace from *France*, he could not but look upon it as a Thing come down from Heaven, and the happiest that ever could have fallen

fallen out, both for his Majesty and himself ; considering the great Change it was like to make in this State. For, he would tell me in Confidence ; that those Dispositions which had been here raised in the State, and carryed them so far in so mischievous a Peace, had been grounded upon the Weakness and Uncertainty of our Conduct in *England*, and upon the Opinion of the contrary in *France* ; as well as upon that of their good Intentions to live always fairly with this State, and to content themselves without *poussant* their Conquests any farther in *Flanders*. That in case the Peace had been made upon those Terms accepted here ; the same Persons and Dispositions that brought it about, would certainly have ended all Measures between *England* and them, and throw the whole Dependance of this State upon *France* ; and that he (the Prince) should not have been able to hinder it. Whereas the last Incident had made so great a Change in the Minds of the Magistrates here ; and the People too, that the chief Leaders in those Councils were come to be ashamed of themselves, and to confess their Mistakes. And if they should grow to be assured of his Majesty's going into the War, and sticking to them firmly ; he did not doubt but even after a Peace, this State would come to

have their Dependance wholly upon *England*. He said, he believed nevertheless; that if *France* should restore the Towns before the War broke out into new Action; that this State would not be hindered from accepting the Peace: But of this he saw no Appearance, since the *French Ambassadors* had declared so positively to those of this State at *Nimeguen*; that their Master was fixed in the Point of not restoring them till the Satisfaction of *Sueden*; and that *Monsieur de Luxemburgh* had given his direct Refusal of suffering any more Provisions to go into *Mons*, till the Peace was signed: Upon which he, the Prince, was resolved to go away to the Army within two Days; but would leave the Pensioner so instructed, that I might go on with my Negotiations here in his Absence.

I then told his Highness the three Points upon which his Majesty expected to receive Satisfaction, before he could take a final Measure with this State: Which were, the not making Peace without mutual Consent, or at least the fixing of certain Terms to which the War should extend; and a Peace not be concluded without them: The Prohibition of Commerce with *France* here as well as in *England*, and the mutual Concert of Forces: I added a fourth, which was in the Foot of my Instructions;

structions ; that in case of any Places lost on either part, neither should make Peace without being restored to the State they were in, at the time of the Treaty's being concluded between us.

The Prince told me, to the last there would be no Difficulty. As to the first ; this State would never be brought to an Article of not making Peace without mutual Consent, nor seeing some Bounds to the War : And therefore thought the Terms of the Treaty of *January* last, would be a good Ground to treat upon ; or such other Terms as should be farther agreed to by consent of Parties.

For the second ; the same that *Monfieur Van Leven* had told his Majesty in *England*, that it would be very hard to gain it by a direct Convention before the War ; but that it was a thing must necessarily follow : For in a War, the Bottom of *England* sailing in which they now Traded ; all others would be used as Enemies by us ; and so there could no Trade remain between *France* and this State, while the War lasted.

I told his Highness, I did not leave his Majesty disposed to enter into the War without this Point being fixed. And tho' the Thing seemed like to play as his Highness had discoursed, yet it was of that

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Consequence to the main Event of the War, that I thought it would be best to tell the States what his Majesty absolutely reckoned upon ; and what they were like to trust to in this Matter : And to shew them, that since it was a necessary Consequence of the War, it might as well be a precedent Article between us. His Highness consented, and said ; follow this Method.

As to the third, he was of Opinion no Concert of Forces could be made particular between us, but for our own mutual Defence ; which is done by our Defensive Leagues : But for that which is the Defence of *Flanders* ; it must be made among all the Confederates in such manner as would be most conducing to those Ends. That he supposed this State would bring an Army into the Field of twenty five thousand Men, besides their Garisons : That his Majesty must not go so near the Wind in such a War, as to proportion himself to the weak and exhausted Condition of this State (which would go as far however as possible they could) but to the Necessity of the War, and to what the Parliament would be brought to furnish upon so great an Occasion, and which they had always had so much at heart. That it would be fit to engage some of the Princes of *Germany*, but not as this State has done, leaving the Forces under the Command of their

their own Princes ; but to have them under his Majesty's Command to act where he pleased ; which would make his Majesty Master of the War and Peace, and set him at the Head of Affairs (which was the Figure *England* ought to make) and draw this State and the Neighbouring Princes of *Germany* into a Dependance upon him.

After this his Highness asked me whether the King would not declare the War, till the three Points were concluded with the States here. I answered, that I could not say any thing certain ; but that I was not impowered otherwise than upon their agreeing with his Majesty in them, to conclude finally with the States ; since his Majesty would follow their Dispositions, having consented to the Peace upon their Instances ; and so would hope to reckon upon their Firmness in it, and not breaking from him as they had done in their last Measures. The Prince seemed something troubled that his Majesty would not go in to the War before the granting of the three Points : But he concluded I should lose no time in entering upon the Business with the States ; seemed much pleased that Monsieur *Van Lewen* was come over with me, and in Sentiments so agreeable to those of his Majesty: Said, he would endeavour to have

had him immediately brought into the Committee of Foreign Affairs, though out of Method; but upon pretence of his being come from *England*: That he would be extream glad he could bring *Monsieur Hœft* into it too: But that could not be, because he was not of the *Stâtes-Generâls*; But that this Incident from *France* had brought him and his Town of *Amsterdam* to be for the War.

Upon this, the Prince said farther, that several Persons here had appeared to be his Enemies upon the last Transactions; yet he had been so far from treating them so, that he had continued his Commerce all along, and had his Conversation ever more with them than his Friends; and by that means they were now grown to understand one another.

I have desired a Conference with the States Commissioners, at four this afternoon.

I am ever, &c.

P. S.

JUST upon the Closure of this Letter, the Prince came to me; and desired me that I would write to his Majesty, to beg

beg the dispatching away of those Troops which Monsieur *Van Lewen* told the States, were ordered into *Flanders* : And that those Ships which now are ready may be sent out in a Squadron to Sea, to give the *French* some Jealousy upon their Coasts ; which might possibly make some Diversion now while the Prince marches, and if his Majesty thinks fit, that some of the Troops in *Flanders* may have command to obey the Prince's Orders, in case he should have need of them, upon some great and pressing Occasion.

To

To Mr. Secretary *Williamson*.

Hague, July 15. 1678.

S I R,

Since my last, which was yesterday, I have had two Conferences with the States Commissioners. In the first I exposed to them my Journey's Subject at this time. I expressed to them his Majesty's Sentiments and Resolutions in the very Terms of my Instructions; and concluded, that his Majesty, as he would have entered into Measures with them for the Guaranty of the Peace, so he would for the continuing of the War.

They returned all Acknowledgments that could be, of his Majesty's generous dealing. They excused themselves upon their own Necessities, and the weakness of their Allies; particularly in *Flanders*: That they had been extreamly surprized to meet with this new Accident from *France*; particularly since the Restitution of the Towns was tied up to the satisfaction of *Sueden*, without so much as mentioning what satisfaction *Sueden* would accept, and in what time: And indeed without consenting that *Sueden* should

should accept of such satisfaction as perhaps the *Swedes* themselves would have been contented with. That it now would depend upon his Majesty, whether they should submit to the Terms of any Peace that *France* would think fit to impose upon them.

That indeed upon the Evacuation of the Towns by *France*, the Peace would then be concluded; but there was no hopes of that, since their Express brought word that the *French* Ambassadors had declared at *Nimeguen*, that they neither had order to give any other Answer than they have done already; nor expected to receive any from the King their Master: And, that in a private Conference between *Monsieur Colbert* and *Beverning*, the first had told him upon the States refusing to accept the Peace on those Terms; that his Master would make them accept it, *Bongrè malgré qu' ils en ayent*. That upon all this they desired me if I had any farther Lights to give them of his Majesty's Intentions in case the War went on, I would do it.

Hereupon I proposed to them the Four Points contained in my Instructions.

Upon the first I found it true what the Prince had told me, that they would not hear of a general and boundless consent: So then I descended to the Terms of the last Treaty, but with such farther Conditions more
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advantageous to the safety of *Flanders*, as should be agreed on by the Consent of both Parties.

Upon the Second they made great Difficulties at first : but I put once for all my whole Strength upon this Point; and so told them, That the prohibition of Commerce was a Thing which had been long pressed upon his Majesty by their Ambassador in *England*, that he could not believe they were not equally satisfied with it here. But besides, I told them, the Thing must be, and therefore a Convention would do nothing but declare it to the World; and that this would be the greatest step towards a Peace, it being the only way to persuade *France* that we were all resolved to go on with the War; since it was evident that *France* had made this last Incident, only because they thought this State would accept of any Peace, rather than lose their Trade any longer.

The Commissioners told me, for themselves, they were so far convinced of my Reasons, that if I had none but them to deal with, I might assure my self the Thing would be done. But what their Masters would say to a Thing, in which they had always apprehended an invincible Difficulty (at least, till *England* should have declared the War) they could not tell : But however they promised me to give it all the Advantage they could by their Office and Representations. As

As to the Third, about the Proportion of Forces ; they seemed infinitely unsatisfied; that *England* should go no more than almost an even Pace with a State, so out of all proportion to us in Strength at the best, and so exhausted as this Countrey now is by the sixth Year of so great a War.

They pretended to fear, that this Offer would shock their Principals so far, as to make them think, that since *England* would only protract the War, without Forces enough to make a good Peace, they had as good receive an ill one now as hereafter.

They said so much upon this Point, that I was fain to put them in mind of the Constitution of *England*, as well as their Riches and Forces; and how much it would depend upon Parliaments, whether his Majesty would be enabled to prosecute the War with such Vigor as he himself perhaps would think necessary.

The Fourth Point, of mutual Guaranty to each Party upon the State wherein they should enter into the Treaty, met with no Difficulty, and so this Conference ended.

At Two this Afternoon I saw the Prince, after having appointed another Conference with the States at Four. He told me the News he had just received from *Mons*, of a Skirmish much to the Advantage of the Garrison.

At the Conference at Four this Afternoon the Commissioners said they had acquainted the States with our last Conference ; who were extremely sensible of his Majesty's Favour to them : But that there were Two Points they found of hard digestion ; The Prohibition of Commerce, and the Proportion of Forces. However, that upon the first, and the Reasons I had urged, the States had resolved, the Deputies should go to consult their several Towns : But for the proportion of Forces , they thought it would be of ill Consequence to propose it to them in those Terms: And therefore had commanded them the Commissioners once more to press me upon this Point, to enlarge the Proportion on his Majesty's side. I will not trouble you with the Arguments that passed on both sides ; but only tell you, that it ended in this Article to be propounded by the Deputies to their Towns ; *Qu'en attendant un concert plus particulier touchant des forces que Sa Majesté & les Alliés engagés en cette guerre contribueront ; Sa Majesté fournira par provision un tiers moins de Troupes en Flandres, & un tiers plus de forces de mer que celles qui seront fournies par cet Etat.*) And so this Conference ended, and the Success of it must be expected on Monday.

Monsieur

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Monſieur Olivecrans return'd this Day
from *England*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, July 20. S. N. 1674.

My LORD,

HAVING drawn up Matters here to a Head, at least as far as can be till the 5th of next Month; and besides, the Draught of our Treaty, which I yet know not whether I can sign or no; because I cannot tell whether they will come up to a formal Article, for the prohibition of Commerce; and the Matter will not be of so pressing haste while they here attend the final Answer from *France*: I have dispatcht away Mr. *Meredith* his Majesty's Secretary of the Ambassy here, by the *Catherine* Yacht, and entrusted with my main Pacquet to the Secretary; tho' I send a Duplicate both of it and my last Dispatch by the Master of the

B b 2

Pacquet

Pacquetboat's hands that parts the same Day. I have charged him with my Compliments in particular to your Lordship when he makes his own; and shall add as little as I can to your Trouble, besides the share of what you will have by my main Dispatch: Only I cannot but mark to your Lordship upon what the *French Ambassadors* said to the *Dutch*, of their being sure of *England* upon Treaties being concluded with his Majesty; that the Prince tells me, *Monsieur d' Avaux* asked *Monsieur Odyke* at *Nimeguen*, when such Treaties were made, whether the Prince were not included, and had not his share in them: And when *Monsieur Odyke* said, not, and that he believed he knew nothing of it, *Monsieur d' Avaux* seemed much to wonder at it. I presume by this sort of dealing among them, you may reckon upon the Thing's growing publick, whatever may have been private between his Majesty and them, when the Affair breaks out between us, as it is like to do, unless *France* make a Peace contrary to those Heighths wherewith they have hitherto treated us and all the World. If it does, his Majesty may well put it upon the same Score with many others of that kind which have been plaid by *France*; and the publick notice whereof will be the only way to possess all men both at home and abroad

broad with the belief of his Cure beyond Relapse. To hear the Tricks and Insinuations that have been used here, especially to make men apprehend the Joint Designs of his Majesty and the Prince upon the Liberty of this People, and the Resolutions of *France* to defend them, would make any man alive lose all Patience: Because it looks as if they deal with Men just like so many Children, and make them believe any Stories of Cocks and Bulls whenever it served their turn; than which nothing can look like so great a Scorn; and nothing methinks can be less born than that. The Mask is falling off here apace, and the Affairs of *Christendom* will, I doubt not, be put once more into his Majesty's hands, almost by Miracle: But if he lets this Knot slip again by any new Fluctuation, or change of Measures, 'tis gone for ever, and the Game of *Christendom*, as well as his own, never to be retrieved.

The Pensioner, and *Monsieur Van Lewen* tell me this Evening, that they have certain Intelligence of the Intention of *France*, to slight both *Charleroy* and *Qudenarde*, in case they come to an evacuation of the Places in *Flanders*; which is directly (as they two say) contrary to the express Terms of the Agreement. I ought to be instructed what I am to do here in case of such an Incident,

dent, even upon the Execution of the Peace. I hear from all hands, the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* are horribly unquiet upon the Transactions here, And *Monsieur Fagel* told me, he could not but observe, that the *French* Ambassadors could now come to theirs with this Memorial and all the fair Words; whereas before, they treated them, *de haut en bas, & comme des coquins*. I am so tired out with this cruel pinch of Business since my coming over, that though I remember nothing else worth your Lordship's Trouble, yet if I should, for the present, have forgot any material Point, I cannot doubt your Pardon to one that is with so great Passion, and so perfect a Truth,

My LORD,

Tour, &c.

To

To Sir L. Jenkins.

Hague, July 20th, S. N. 1678.

My LORD,

I Am extremely aſham'd as well as ſorry to find two Letters before me of the 16th and 28th from your Lordſhip, without having the Satisfaction of giving you any Accounts from hence by the laſt Poſt, the fault whereof I muſt needs lay upon Mr. Meredith, and leave him to excuſe himſelf as well as he can ; yet I will ſay, not to leſſen that Fault, but only that Miſfortune, that I could not have found very much to have informed your Lordſhip from hence on Sunday laſt, beſides only the Subject of my Inſtructions, and the aſſurance of my having purſued them here. For the firſt, I preſume your Lordſhip had the knowledge of them given you from the Secretary's Office, about the time of my Diſpatch ; and for the other I will ſo far reckon upon your Lordſhip's Juſtice, as to have believ'd it of me, whether I gave you part of it or no ; however, finding my ſelf this Morning in poſſeſſion of one hour of leiſure after the ſharpeſt pinch

of Business ever since I came over, that ever yet fell upon me in my Life ; and not being assured that the Secretary's Office acquitted themselves to your Lordship as they ought to have done upon this Occasion, and as I am sure was the King's Intention, I will tell your Lordship that the King having laid his Absolute Commands upon me about a Month since to go away for *Nimeguen*, and assist there at the Conclusion of the Peace (which seem'd then so near) and to use my best Offices, that no Difficulty should arise between the *French* and *Spaniards*, and thereby the *French* should have no occasion left of making any farther Progress of their Arms in *Flanders*, I submitted to his Majesty's Pleasure, tho' I had often resolv'd since I went last over never to turn my Face Northward any more ; but I saw then no other way left of saving that little which remaineth in *Flanders*, considering the Circumstances that plaid here in *Holland* as well as at home ; and your Lordship knows how long and how often I have told you and my other Friends, that with the loss of that Country, all my Politicks are ended.

When I was ready, and within twenty four Hours of embarking upon this Errand, your Lordship's Letter came to his Majesty's hands, giving him an Account of that new Incident

Incident from *France*, which alone in appearance could have obstructed that Peace, by their refusing to evacuate the Places in *Flanders* till the Restitution in *Sweden*; I never saw the King more surprized than at this news, who sent to me immediately to acquaint me with it: and I must needs say, that I found both the King and the Duke growing so angry upon it, that I thought it my part to temper them as far as I could, desiring them not to reason, or at least, not to conclude upon a thing which was yet uncertain; but in the first place to be assured either from the *French* Ambassador, or else from *France*, whether that Thing was true or no; because all Steps or Resolutions taken upon it, would be forc'd to change, in case *France* should disown their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, in what they advanced there upon this Occasion. His Majesty was pleased to follow this Method, and that very Night spoke to Mr. *Barillon* about it, but finding him to own no knowledge of it, and much less Instructions upon it, and indeed not seeming to believe the thing, two Expresses were dispatch'd away into *France* the two following Days, one by *Monsieur Barillon* for his own Instruction, and the other by his Majesty to Mr. *Mountague* for his clear Information, upon the Point, with Orders to draw a sudden and positive Answer upon it from that Court. The

The Day after, upon application of the Dutch Ambassadors representing the Thing to his Majesty in the same Colours, and with the Circumstance your Lordship had done before, together with the Resolution taken upon it by the States their Masters, not to submit to such a new and unreasonable Imposition, by which they were like to lose all the good they pretended from the Peace; and desiring his Majesty's Protection in it, the King thought it a Matter of that weight and consequence, that he resolved immediately to dispatch away my Lord *Sunderland* to know fully the mind of *France* in this Matter, and with Orders not to stay above five Days in *Paris*, for his Answer: His Lordship was ready to be gone, and within six hours of parting from the Town, when not only Mr. *Barillon's* Express as well as his Majesty's having returned with an Absolute Answer from *France*, that they were resolved not to evacuate the Towns; a second Express arrived from Mr. *Mountague*, not only to confirm the former Answer, but to let his Majesty know that the King of *France* had desired Mr. *Mountague* that no Person might be sent over upon that Occasion, since it was a thing in which he was resolved, and which therefore would bear no reasoning.

Upon

Upon this Dispatch his Majesty immediately stop'd that of my Lord *Sunderland*, and resolv'd to hasten mine, with new Instructions to assure this State, how much his Majesty was surpriz'd at this new Incident from *France*, how entirely he approv'd their Resolution already taken upon it, and how firmly he was resolv'd to stand by them in it: I was charged likewise with Powers and Orders to conclude immediately upon Measures between his Majesty and this State, in case of the Wars going on, provided I could first agree with them in these three Points: The First, Of not making the Peace without mutual Consent; or at least, without the Conditions of *January* last: The Second, A joining with his Majesty in the Prohibition of *French* Commerce: And Lastly, A Concert of Forces. I could not disobey his Majesty in this Second Commission, tho' I was infinitely discourag'd by many Circumstances, and most of all by Mr. *Hyde* and *Godolphin*, who told me plainly, that Matters were gone on too far here to be retriev'd; at least, that they were surr: it could never be done, without his Majesty's first declaring the War; which he could not resolve upon till he was first sure of the Mind of *Holland* in that Case; however, I came over, and what hath past here will be better told your Lordship by the *Dutch* Ambassadors,

sadors, than by me, with whom I know you
 live in Confidence, and will do so the more
 upon this Occasion : Besides, I had rather
 leave it to them, because I both want time,
 and should be forc'd often to speak of my
 self in it, which I ever love to avoid. The
 upshot of all hitherto is, that the States
 seem to resolve an immediate Answer shall
 be given to the *French* Ambassadors last Me-
 morial at *Nimeguen*, and that a positive An-
 swer from *France* shall be desired by the 5th
 of next Month, upon the Point of evacua-
 ating the Places ; that in the mean time
 the Measures shall be concluded between his
 Majesty and this State in case of *France's*
 persisting to refuse it; and the very Towns
 of *Amsterdam*, *Leyden* and *Rotterdam*, as
 well as all the rest of this Province, seem
 absolutely and unanimously resolv'd in case
 of such a Refusal to go on with the War in
 conjunction with his Majesty, as well as the
 rest of the Allies, and upon the strictest
 Measures between them. This Resolution
 I thought would have past this day, but the
 final Resolution is referr'd till to morrow
 Morning : However, I would not let this
 Post go away without telling your Lord-
 ship thus much, and adding for your better
 light, that I find the Prince infinitely satis-
 fied with the States Dispositions and Car-
 riage in this whole Transaction since I
 came

came over; and that I left the Duke so violently bent upon a War with *France*, that he told the King publicly at the Foreign Committee, in my hearing, the Day before I came away, after repeating several Circumstances of the *French* ill usage and intention towards him, that nothing could be more evident than the *French* Design of an Universal Monarchy, that nothing but *England* could hinder it; and that his Majesty without engaging in it, would hazard his own Crown and Safety, as well as that of *Christendom*;

I am ever,

Your Lordship's

most Faithful

Humble Servant.

W. Temple.

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, July 25th. 1678.

My LORD,

THough the other Letter be of a later Date; yet upon perusal again I found some things in it that might be proper enough for your Lordship to know, and so I am content to let it go. I shall only here give your Lordship Joy of this Negotiation atchieved under your Ministry; which is by all on this side esteemed a much greater than another whereon I have known some former Ministers in *England* value themselves very much, tho' not very long. That which may possibly make this the more acceptable to his Majesty, is the evidence of so much Art and Industry with which the *French* have of late used all the Practices imaginable to gain this State; upon the Belief whereof I doubt they have not considered us the more, or used us the better. For, I do not find that the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* took any notice of Sir *L. Jenkins* in the delivery of their late Memorial there; or that he came to be possessed of it otherwise than from the
Dutch

Dutch Ambassadors. And since I came over, *Monsieur d' Estrades* has written several Letters to the Towns of *Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dort* and *Leyden*, to persuade them, that the Prince of *Orange* and his Friends will have no Peace : And the Pensioner has surprized an Original Letter from *Monsieur Louvois* to *Monsieur d' Estrades*; by which he bids him tell those of his Correspondents in *Holland*, from whom the last Advice came ; that in case they gave him no better, he would certainly stop their Pensions. The best on't is, the Sore seems to be broken, and to have run out so, as to leave the Body more healthful than before : And if God bless the Prince in this one Enterprize of *Mons*, he will be greater here than ever any of his Ancestors were : I suppose one good Fruit more may arise from this Affair : Which is, that I do not believe any man who sees the Course of my Dispatches, can think there are any more Tricks in the Business ; nor do I see why Men should be sick any longer of that imaginary Disease in *England*, after they are cured here. And if the Cure should be wrought at a time in both places, the World is safe, let the War go on ; if not, it may be lost still : And I know not whether I shall have Charity enough to pray God forgive them that prove the Occasion of it. How all this is
received

received in Court or Country, I should be glad to know from your Lordship : For, after all the Compliments made me here upon it, I am from thence to judge what I may have deserved by the infinite, perpetual Trouble and Application it has forced me upon since I came over.

I send your Lordship a Copy inclosed of my dispatch this day to Mr. Secretary ; which Mr. *Meredith* resolves first to put in to your Lordship's hands : And whatever other Observances you can receive from him, I am sure will be rendred to your Lordship there and here, upon this and all other Oceaſions : Since he can have learned nothing else, in the House of a Person that is, and ever shall be, with a constant and equal Passion and Truth,

My L O R D,

Your &c.

T.

To the KING.

Hague, July 25th. S. N. 1678.

May it please Your Majesty,

HAVING since my coming last over, not only drawn all things here to a Head, but this day reduc'd them into Form ; and signed a Treaty with the States according to my Instructions, upon their Consent to all the four Points given me in charge. I presume your Majesty will find it as much to your Satisfaction as all Persons here believe it, to the Honour and Greatness of your Crown. Which is all I shall say upon a Subject, wherein I have had so much Part my self. However, you will not I hope be displeased to know, that this Affair so ended, has left the Prince of *Orange*, in his own Opinion, a happy Man ; and in all others here, a great Prince once more : This State being more fallen in than ever with his Highness, and both of them more than ever into a Dependence upon your Majesty. I pray God you may use so great a Conjunction, so as may be most for your own Glory and Felicity, as well as those of your Crowns ;

C c

and

and then I have my End and my Reward.

Having charged Mr. *Meredith*, your Majesty's Secretary of the Ambassy here, with the Delivery of the Treaty, and my Dispatch to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*: I could not but give him this Oecasion of laying himself at your Majesty's Feet; and ask your Pardon for the long Troubles I have been forced to give your Majesty, since my Arrival here; as well as assure you at the same time, that no Man alive can be with a sincerer Truth, or greater Devotion than I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most

Loyal and most

Obedient Subject

and Servant.

To Mr. H-----e.

Hague, July 29th. S. N. 1678.

My LORD,

I Heard by your Servants here, that you were grown to be so ill at Court, as to be gone down into the Country to a scurvy piece of Land you had bought there : And I, like a true Courtier, upon this news would not take the pains to write to a Man whose Affairs went so ill : But for fear my Intelligence should prove as false as what Monsieur d' Estrades had received of late from *Amsterdam* ; and that you should not only be well at Court still, but the Land you went to see, should prove to be one of the best Mannors of *England* ; I could no longer omit assuring Your Excellency of my humble Services, and of the Joy wherewith I shall either obey your Commands here, or receive your Protection at *Nimeguen*, as his Majesty's Orders shall either keep me in this Place, or call us both thither : Of which I have yet no certain Prospect.

Now I have made you my scurvy Compliments, if you please we will leave them

all off: And in the common Style of Friends, I will first tell you, that I have had the good Luck to end the Business with which his Majesty charged me here, extremely to the Prince of *Orange's* Satisfaction, and as much to that of the States; excepting some few, who by shewing their Discontent at it, have discovered themselves to be too plainly and too deep in the *French* Interest, to be looked upon any longer as Dealers here. Now, I would be glad to know from you as a Friend, and not as a Minister, what is said or thought of it at Court, and whether they continue in the mind I left them; or what Points the Wind may have tacked about since; and what my Lord *Sunderland's* Business at present is into *France*; which is the great Subject of Talk and Reflections here. I would be glad likewise to know your Conjectures there, whether *France* will come to the Peace or no; without refusing any longer to evacuate the Towns, which is the present Wager current at *Amsterdam*. And my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins* according to the Lights of *Nimeguen*, was absolutely of Opinion yesterday they would.

There never was so Desolate a Place as the *Hague* at this time: And yet I was content the Prince should go, because I never saw any Body go in so good Humour

mour as both he and all about him, upon the conclusion made here the Night before; by which his Friends take him to make a greater Figure than ever he did since he came to the Government: But this will depend in some Measure too, upon the Figure he will make in *Flanders*; where I have no very good Opinion of the relief of *Mons*, upon the joyning of *Mareschal Humieres* and *Schomberg* with the Duke of *Luxemburg*: Of all which, you will sooner receive an Account by *Flanders* than from hence, where we have had since *Monday* last a perfect Vacation of all Affairs; so that you shall have no farther Trouble beyond the assurances of my being ever, and truly,

Your, &c.

I Gave Mr. *Meredith* order to wait upon you from me, and to give you any Accounts you desired of all that had passed here.

To Mr. G-----n.

Hague, July 29th. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

I Had not time to write to you by Mr. *Meredith*; which was due not only to you, but to the inclosure of a Letter the Prince had given me for you, upon the assurance that I intended to write to you by that Dispatch. All I could do then, was to order Mr. *Meredith* to wait upon you particularly from me; and both assure you of my Service, and give you any Account you cared for being troubled with, of my late Negotiation here. I knew you were so much a Friend of the Prince as to be glad of what he was so much pleased, and all about him so exalted with here; because they never took him to be in so great Credit or Authority as upon the Conclusion of this Business; and thereby the Dependence of this State being wholly cast upon *England*, which was just upon the Point of being thrown into *France*: And thereby leaving the Prince in such a Figure, as I believe would have broke his Heart if it had proved without Remedy. What you

you say or think of it on that side, I am yet to know; and whether you continue in the Mind I left you, or how the Weather has changed. And though you promised to have my Statue set up if I could bring this State to take their Measures with us before we had declared the War, especially upon the Point of prohibiting Commerce; yet after that and all other Points attained perfectly to his Majesty's mind, I will only expect that you keep me from being hanged up in effigie; if all should be changed, and my Lord *Sunderland* should have more to do in *France* than I have here. This is the present Subject of wise Talk in this place: And, as both Mr. *Hyde* and you concluded with me at my coming away, that one great ground of the ill and hasty Paces made here of late to a Peace, was the Belief they were in of ours in *England*; so I believe you will conclude with me that if we let this knot slip but once more, it is never to be retrieved again; and they will run into *France* without any stop, upon a Disdain of all our Conduct in *England*, and the Despair of our proving constant to their Interest, or our own. In short, the King is once more at the Head of all the Affairs in *Christendom*: What use he will make of it, is in his own Hands, and those of his Ministers.

and Servants that are about him. Among whom, as I know no Man that wishes better at heart to his Majesty and his Kingdoms than you do : So I am sure no Man can wish better to you in all Points than I do; nor more desire the Occasions of expressing the sincere Truth and Passion as well as Esteem ; wherewith I am and shall be always ,

S I R,

Tours, &c.

To the Duke of ORMOND.

Hague, Aug. 1st. S. N. 1678.

My LORD,

SINCE my Arrival here, I have had the hardest Pinch of Business that ever befell me in my Life. I have concluded and signed a Treaty between his Majesty and the States ; by which he is obliged to enter into the War, and they to continue it, and not make Peace without much greater Conditions ; if France does not agree to those the States accepted (about

bout a Month since) by the 11th of this
 Month. The Prince would not stir till
 this Treaty was signed ; believing all his
 own Interests , and the greatest of the
 Crown of *England* to depend upon it. Af-
 ter it was done, he went away immedi-
 ately to the Army ; a great Prince in all o-
 thers opinions, and a happy one in his
 own ; which he had been far from in both
 for some Months past. The *French* have
 used all the Artifices imaginable to hinder
 these Measures between us ; and to take
 them separately with this State in our Ex-
 clusion, and even that of the Prince of
Orange. Their last was two days since by
 a Memorial of their Ambassadors at *Nime-
 guen* ; offering, that the King of *France*
 would advance himself as far as *St. Quintin*,
 to meet any Deputies the States would
 send thither, and treat with them in Per-
 son. The States having yesterday consi-
 dered with me upon it, have refused the
 Offer ; desired a positive Answer upon e-
 vacuating the Places in *Flanders* ; and let
 the *French* Ambassadors know, they should
 not be many days *en leur entier* to receive
 it. This is a strange Change of Style in
 the World, and the King is once more at
 the Head of Affairs in *Christendom*. What
 Use we shall make of this Conjunction, is
 in the Stars : Your Grace and I will not
 venture

venture to guess, considering how well we know our Court : But I am sure we shall joyn in our wishes ; and mine shall ever be for the good Health and good Fortunes that your Grace can propose to your self ; since no Man can be with greater Passion nor Truth than I am, and shall be ever,

My LORD,

Your Grace's &c.

To Mr. Secretary *Williamson*.

Hague, Aug. 1st. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

Y E sterday about Noon came an Express from Sir *L. Jenkins*, bringing me the inclosed Memorial ; inviting the States to send their Deputies to *St. Quintin*, in *Picardy* ; where his most *Christian Majesty* will in Person meet with them. I looked upon it as a Resolution in *France* grounded upon Advices from hence ; as believing that so great a Condescension as this of his most *Christian Majesty*, could not but give new

new Life to Monsieur *Pats* and his Party. That the Effect of it would be, to draw this State into a Negotiation not only separate from all their Allies, but even from all Offices or Intervention of his Majesty as Mediator ; and make way for some of the considerable Persons of this State, to take particular Measures with the Court of *France*.

This morning Monsieur *Van Lewen* was with me, and we Discoursed of this new Memorial. He said, the Thing seemed of the same Piece with all that had come of late from *France* ; and to be all but an Amusement while he pursued the taking of *Mons*, and the Hopes that this State would still fall into some Expedient in the Point of evacuating the Places. That he was of Opinion, the States would make some Reflection upon this new Offer ; particularly the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* having said to the States, that by this way of treating ; Affairs might be more advanced in twenty four Hours, than in as many Days by other Hands. He told me that the States-General had resolved ; that their Commissioners for secret Affairs should come to me, and ask my Opinion upon this new Proposition ; which he (Monsieur *Van Lewen*) desired to know before hand.

I told

I told him I was sure, sending to *St. Quintin* could do no good ; since, if they were resolved, as he said they were, to insist upon the Evacuation of the Towns without farther Expedient ; that might be better done at *Nimeguen*. That besides, it would be less respect to a great King, to draw him so far in Person only to receive a peremptory Message from them, without Instructions to treat ; or fall into Temperaments upon it. That thirdly ; since before the Treaty signed with his Majesty, they had resolved not to send to *Paris*, nor *Ghent* : I thought, since the Treaty concluded they could not send to *St. Quintin*, and thereby exclude his Majesty from any Part in the Negotiation ; either as Mediator or otherwise, without his Majesty's Consent ; which could not be had but by sending into *England*, since I had no Instructions upon this new Incident. That this could not be performed within the Time prefixed in the Treaty, of the 11th of this Month : And therefore my Opinion was, that they should answer this Memorial by another short one from their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* ; expressing, that they could come to no new Negotiations without the Communication and Consent of his Majesty ; with whom they had entered into Measures upon the late Incident

in the Negotiation of the Peace. I told Monsieur *Van Lewen*, that this was *le grand et le beau chemin* ; and that I did not see how they could take any other, considering their Tyes to his Majesty and *Spain* ; who had joyned them in accepting the Peace.

Monsieur *Van Lewen* fell in with my Opinion, but could not pretend to guess what the Advice of the several Towns would be upon it : After this he left me. I then began to reflect what Issue this Affair would have had, in case the Treaty had not been signed before it came ; which it must not have been if I had first received your Orders of the 16th current ; by which I found his Majesty insisted upon the Prohibition of Commerce to be made a Part of the Treaty by particular Article or Convention ; which the Prince, Pensioner, and Commissioners told me, could not be any ways hoped for from the Province of *Holland* ; so as upon it the Treaty must of necessity have demurred ; which imported as much as the whole Issue of this Negotiation, in case it had not been concluded before the Prince left this Place.

While I was in these last Thoughts, and had pursued my Letter as far as this last Period ; I received yours of the 11th upon the late Treaty's having been produced
before

before his Majesty at a Foreign Committee; with so many Faults laid to my Charge in this Transaction, that I have reason to be as much mortified as you can with me; though you are pleased to say, some of the Faults you find are without present Order.

The three chief Points you have Orders to except to, and to desire a Change or Elucidation upon them; I will answer as well as I can.

As to that of Commerce; I was left by the large Period upon it in my Instructions to more Liberty than I have taken; and the Prince, Pensioner, and Commissioners all assured me, it was not to be gained by Convention before hand; but would certainly follow upon this Resolution of the States, and last as long as the War: And the Prince took upon him to hinder the failing of it from the Emperor or *Spain*; though that Clause was put in to keep them up to the Rigour of the said Prohibition.

For that of the Concert of the Forces, I told you the Commissioners said, it would be agreed to in very few days here: And I charged my Secretary to let you know, that they had agreed upon it by Provision in that very Number of Land Forces I had before mentioned: And I resolved upon the return of the Pensioner here to Town, to come to a Specification between us of them.

them, both at Land and Sea : So that I could never have imagined this as an Omission ; since I was tyed to nothing in my Instructions, farther than the Proportions of three to two.

For that of the Restriction to *Europe* ; I must confess it a Fault, since you say it is found so : But I told you then, it was a Point I had no Light given me in at all from you or any body else in *England* : That all the Practices I had ever had there, confirmed me in it, as well as the Pensioner ; who told me, this State had never made any Treaty that extended beyond *Europe*.

Thus I confess, I thought I had followed my Instructions upon all these Points, and did not act with so much punctilious Caution as I ought, it may be, to have done : For the Conjuncture was so Critical, and to be concluded before the Prince's going, or else to be lost ; which was to decide whether this State should fall into a Dependance upon *England* or *France*.

This is a Point the *French* value and pursue at another rate, of which there needs no other Testimony than this *Demarche* of *St. Quintin*.

But,

But, since the greatest Service I could ever hope to do his Majesty or the Crown of *England*, proves to be a Fault ; I humbly ask his Majesty's Pardon, and shall learn hereafter to tye my self as strictly to my Orders, as a Clarke of the Office ought to do, since I find so severe a Lash hang over me : Though I am, I confess, of Opinion that no Prince or State can ever tye up so strictly, either a General or an Ambassador ; or give them Reason to act in perpetual Fear, without losing the Greatest Occasions in the World, either in Treaties or in War. And so I end this unpleasant Subject,

and am, &c.

To Sir *Joseph Williamson*.

Hague, Aug. 2d. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

LAST Night I acquainted the Pensioner with what had passed between me and the Commissioners, and the Resolution we were come to : Which was, that it was not fit to send to *St. Quintin*,
nor

nor they could not do it without the Participation of *England*.

He said it was very well, and that this Artifice of *France*, as it was the last, so it was the greatest, and that we had but this Blow to ward: That if our Treaty had not been concluded, he should have been in pain, but did not fear now; and said, the States of *Holland* were to assemble upon it this Morning.

This Morning at Five I received a Letter from the Prince, expressing the greatest Pain in the World upon this last Memorial at *Nimeguen*; desiring me to do all that was possible to hinder any Deputation to *St. Quintin* or *Ghent*, and to speak my self to all Persons here that I thought would be inclined to it. At Five the Pensioner came to me, and gave me an Account of the Resolution being taken both in the States of *Holland*, and after in the States General, upon the *French Memorial*: That they could not send to *St. Quintin* or *Ghent*, having nothing at all to propose: That they desired the *French* Answer positive upon the Point of evacuating the Places, and signing the Peace: That they should not be many Days *en leur entier* to receive it: And this to be sent to the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, with a Private Letter to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, to let them know, that the 1th of this Month

was the last Day they should be able to attend their Answer.

He told me, all this was agreed unanimously at last ; though some insisted long upon writing a Letter to the Most *Christian* King ; but not that it self without first asking my Consent to it ; deferring as much as was possible to the Measures they had taken with *England*.

He was in so good humour upon this Occasion, that I thought I could never have a better to put him upon giving his Majesty the satisfaction you desire in those Points of the Treaty : And so I press him upon it in the way you order me.

Upon the first of Commerce, his Answer was, *Qu' il étoit impossible de le faire par convention, mais qu' il étoit aussi impossible que cela pût manquer pendant la guerre, Et qu' il n' en assureroit, cette résolution des Etats ne pouvant être changée sans une nouvelle ; Et il pourroit toujours empêcher cette nouvelle résolution,*

For the Concert of Forces, he said, that by the 1st of this Month, when we should see whether it were War or Peace, the States would enter with me into a Specification of Forces for Sea and Land ; and that he thought, Forty Ships would be the utmost that they should furnish at present :

present: That according as Occasion should happen, there would be other Concerts hereafter.

For the Third, for the *Guarantée mutuelle* beyond *Europe*, he said, that he would not say positively, that in the Treaty, according as you alledged, there was not such a Clause, because of the Extremity they were in when *Spain* engaged with them: But confessed he had told me, this State never engaged beyond *Europe*: That if it were so, he would use all the Endeavours he could, to have it done: But considering the Strength and Populousness of our Plantations, and the Weakness of the *French*, he could not believe but that we should beat them wholly out of the *West-Indies*.

He then desired me with the greatest Earnestness in the World, that I would represent to his Majesty the stopping, and thereby spoiling so great an Affair by any Difficulties, in such Points as these. That he would write to *Monsieur Van Beuninghen* to that purpose, if it were not that I told him, how his Majesty kept the whole as a Secret to all but him and the Prince. That for their part,

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their Ratifications would be ready on
Thursday next.

His Majesty has the whole Matter
before him; and I desire my Instru-
ctions may be clear and positive; which
I shall not fail of obeying.

I am, &c.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, August 2d. S. N. 1678.

My LORD,

I Will not trouble your Lordship with any thing that goes in my Dispatch this Post to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, because I know you have your share in it. I will only tell you, that after all the Applauses have been giv'n me here upon the perfection of the last Treaty ; and among all the Accounts given this last Post from *England*, of his Majesty's and the general satisfaction upon it there ; I received a Letter from Secretary *Williamson*, that found twenty Faults with it, and allows nothing in it that was good. I was the more surprized, because your Lordship had let me know the Post before, that every thing stood upon the same Foot it did when I left *England*; and I had observed, that our Forces were since come over into *Flanders*; by which, and by the *French* demarches here and at *Nimeguen*, where they take no notice of his Majesty's Mediation in all that passes between them and the *Dutch*; I concluded all Confidence irreparably broke between us and

D d 3

France;

France; especially the Usage of our Troops there, succeeding their Instances about disbanding them at home. All this considered, I could not imagine there could have been no good in a Treaty that drew the dependence of this State wholly from *France* and cast it upon *England*, in such a Conjunction, and about which his Majesty was so solicitous when I left him. I concluded this must be personal in Secretary *Williamson*; and I have written to him accordingly, and justify'd my self; as I am sure, if there was a Fault, it must have been in the lameness of his Instructions; which no Ambassador can act by, and upon which I call Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Godolphin*, and Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* to witness; and your Lordship too, upon this single Period in his last Instructions the Post before last, upon the time of our declaring the War, which I was much press'd about here, and was fain to fence off as I could. His Words are these, of July 6th, "As to the time of his Majesty's declaring the War, That you know is to be taken upon the time of the signing the Treaty; and not at all to depend on the time set for the French's refusal of this farther Offer, otherwise than as that shall relate to the concluding of the proposed Treaty between his Majesty and Holland. My Secretary and I were both very long busy, not to find out the Sense, but

but his own meaning of it ; and were fain to give it absolutely over ; which happened to me so often, that 'tis nothing new from that hand. These Lashes and Mortifications are as little so too, having very often befallen me from him ; but never once from my Lord *Arlington*, Secretary *Trebot*, or Secretary *Covenstry*, in Ten Years Service under their Correspondence. I should be very glad to know from your Lordship whether I am mistaken or no in believing this Usage Personal from him : For if it be from his Majesty, I shall take it for another Sign, and make another use of it. In the mean time, I beg your Lordship to take care, that my Instructions may be clear hereafter, or at least, intelligible ; for I am resolved to do nothing without them, let what will happen. One thing more I beg your Lordship to get altered by his Majesty's Command : Which is, that I may have constant Advice from one of the Secretary's Office, of all that passes in *England* ; at least, what can relate to Affairs here. I believe no Ambassador before ever failed of at least a Paper of Occurrences every Post ; and in all the time I have been here, I have not received one Line ; so that I knew neither of my Lord *Sunderland's* going, my Lord *Ferersham's*, nor the Marquis *Burgomaine's*, otherwise than by the Deputies or others

Ministers here ; much less, of *du Cros's* Overture in *England*, that the Towns should be restored by *France*, in case this State would give their Guaranty, that none of the Allies should assist the Enemies of *Sweden*. I mention this, because tho' it be as impracticable as other things of that kind, that have come from *France* ; yet it has made a great Buz among halfwitted People here, when it came to be considered upon this last Memorial of the *French*, whether any Expedient could be offered by *France* in the Point of evacuating the Towns.

The Wise conclude all to be Artifice, and never a greater than this Offer of the Most *Christian King*, to come in Person to *St. Quentin*, to meet and treat with the Deputies of this State. They consider the Consequence of such a King's cajoling, or his Ministers corrupting any that should go ; but chiefly of amusing these people so far as to break the Times, and thereby the Measures concluded with us. They believe the Bottom of all to be the amusing either Us, or *Holland*, till upon the approach of Winter, and the *German Armies* going into Quarters, they may draw all their Forces out of *Germany*, and make one push for the Conquest of *Flanders*. In the mean time, that which is sown by them here with such Industry, is, First, that nothing can defend this State
and

and Country from all its Neighbours, but *France* ; nor consequently give them perpetual Peace and Trade : Then, that *France* can never have any Design upon their Liberty, because they can make more use of their Men and Ships while they are great and flourishing, than they can do by their growing weak and poor, which must follow the conquering and suppressing their Liberties. Then, that they are no Rival to them in Trade, which *England* is, and must ever be ; and that all the danger to their Liberties is from his Majesty and the Prince of *Orange*, upon concert between them, in Relation to *England* and this Country ; and now lastly, upon this Incident at *Nimeguen*, they say it all arose only upon a Visit made by Count *Oxenstern* to the *French* Ambassadors when they were ready to sign the Peace ; desiring them it might not be done without a Provision for *Sweden* : And that no Surprise could be greater than that of the King of *France*, when he heard the Peace was delayed by that Incident. In short, they are extreme sensible of having made a horrible ill Pace, and would fain recover it, but find it very difficult, and, I believe, will not be able, unless we help them ; which, whether we shall or know, your Lordship best knows.

I send

I send you the last *French Memorial* in Print ; for the same Day they communicated it to the *Dutch Ambassadors*, they dispersed numerous Printed Copies among all these Provinces. I send your Lordship likewise a Peculiar printed sort of *Gazette*, which comes out every Post, but only into few and particular Hands ; but is the shrewdest Pen, and the best informed that ever I met with.

I am ever with the same Passion and Truth,

My LORD,

Tours, &c.

I am very well content his Majesty may see this Letter, and judge upon it, how I am like to serve him in the Circumstances I stand with the Secretary's Office.

To

To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, Aug. 31th. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

THE Pensioner having been with me, I have discoursed him upon the Points which you said his Majesty would have insisted upon; and he promises all his best Offices to bring them about; but said, that his Majesty would not be much concerned for the Amendments in these Points, if it were a Peace; which for his part he did not at all doubt of; and therefore desired me to endeavour that nothing might be stirred before the Ratification, upon which he took the Peace to depend. I asked him, what made him think so? he replied, he would tell me in Confidence, that *Monsieur Sylvercroon* had been with him the Day before, to let him know that the *Swedish* Ambassadors had written to the *French* King, to desire him not to hinder the Peace of *Christendom* any longer, by insisting upon the Restitution of *Sweden* before the evacuation of the Towns; and that they expected an Answer from *France* upon it within two or three days. That hereupon, he,

the

the Pensioner, concluded, *France* was resolved to make the Peace, and evacuate the Towns; for he was very sure *France* and *Sweden* understood one another; that the last made no Peace without the Direction and Consent of the other. He said, *Monsieur Sylvercroon* had spoken to him of it, as a Thing done and said upon it, that he hoped now, the Peace was made, and that this State would not *acroche* it upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*. That, he, the Pensioner, had told him, That was a Point the State had come to no Resolution in, but only to order their Ambassadors at *Nimwegen*, to use all the most pressing Offices they could with the *French* Ambassadors upon it; but that there were four of the Provinces resolved not to have the Peace without it; and for his part, he would cry against it all he could. He desired to know his Majesty's Thoughts upon it, and that I would write and represent to his Majesty the Importance of this Matter; and that in the mean time the Peace must take its Course without it.

About Nine a Clock this Morning arrived Mr. *Meredith* with new Instructions from his Majesty, grounded upon an Intimation of *Monsieur du Cros*, as is there express'd. Soon after *Monsieur du Cros* himself came to me, and told me the whole Story of his Proposition,

Proposition. He enlarged upon his Majesty's great Bounty to the Crown of Sweden by yielding to every one of the Points which he had proposed to his Majesty in his Memorial; and concluded with the Joy he should have in seeing me so soon at *Nimeguen*, to second the Assurances he was to give the *Swedish* Ambassadors upon this Occasion.

I told him, that the Intentions of his Journey and mine, had already been prevented by the *Swedish* Ambassadors having of themselves made that Pace towards the Peace, which he pretended to bring them to by his Majesty's Concessions. Upon this *Monsieur du Cros* looked extremely surprized; but recovering himself, said, He did believe the Letters he writ to the *French* Ambassadors the Post before he came away might have had that effect as to make them do the Thing before he came: But it was *Dans la veüe dequelque chose qu'ils esperoient d'Angleterre*: But, by comparing Times, I found that could not be.

He seemed very unresolved upon all these Discourses, whether he should go to *Nimeguen*, or not; and asked me, what I intended to do? I answered, I should not resolve to stir without first giving an Account to Court of the Matter as it stood. So we parted, and he went about Five this Afternoon towards *Nimeguen*. I can-

I cannot but take notice that some of his Majesty's Concessions in *du Cros's* Memorial, are of as great importance as can be to the Crown of *England*: As the 3^d and 4th, concerning the Liberty not only of levying our Mariners and Soldiers, but of buying our Ships and Men of War.

What Effect Monsieur *de Cros's* Discourses may have here, I cannot tell, as to the Peace; but as to his Majesty's Measures and Intentions in it, they have, I am sure, had a very ill one. For my part, I neither understand the Councils upon which they were grounded, nor will pretend to judge of the Event.

About Seven in the Afternoon I spoke with the Pensioner again, and communicated to him my new Instructions. He said, there would be no difficulty as to the Neutrality of the Enemies of *Sweden*, nor as to those of the Allies who accepted not the Peace with *France*. Then he said the State had sent to *Nimeguen* their Answer, by which they could not send to *St. Quintin*; and upon the Communication of it to the *French*, Monsieur *Colbert* had fallen into the greatest *emportement* in the World and particularly against Monsieur *Beverning*.

Sir *L. Jenkins* writes me word, That the *French* take so little notice of his Majesty's Mediation

Mediation there, that he has not heard one Syllable from them since they gave him their Conditions of the 14th of April. I send Mr. Aglionby away with this Dispatch, considering the Importance of it : Besides, that this Gentleman having attended the whole Motion of this Affair ever since my coming over, will be able to give his Majesty a very Particular Account of all the Steps that have been made in it, and of all that can be known from this Scene.

I am ever, &c.

From Pensioner Fagell.

A la Haye le 6me, Aoust. 1678.

Monsieur,

A Tant considéré les ordres que V^{otre} Excellence m' a communiqué de la part du Roy V^{otre} Maître & voyant que cet Etat n' accrochera pas la paix sur la neutralité de Cleves, & que V^{ous} n' avez pas aucun ordre là dessus de la part du Roy v^{otre} Maître ; que cet Etat ne soutiendra pas la guerre avec vigueur, sans que la France soit mise dans son dernier tort

tort par les refus d'evacuer les places, ce qui
 arrivera quand la Suede y aura consenti : Que
 le Roy V^{otre} Maître ne le fera pas aussi sans
 cela, comme il paroît par cette demarche, &
 par les difficultez que v^{otre} Cour a fait de ra-
 tifier le traité, sans des changemens qu'on ne
 peut pas faire icy : Que, du Gros a sçu v^{otre}
 dépêche, & que Sybuercroon l'a déjà débite
 icy comme l'autre va faire à Nimegue, &
 avec de circonstances pût être plus mauvaises
 qu'il ne contient : Que la Suede semblant de-
 ja se deporter de leurs pretensions, & par là, la
 France paroissant de vouloir faire la paix, Il
 sera bon que cet Etat aye encore cette Obligat-
 ion à l'Angleterre, ce qui servira à continuer
 les liaisons entre nous apres la paix, qui est u-
 ne chose de la derniere importance pour les in-
 terêts de sa Majesté, cet Etat, & le Prince.
 Je croy pour toutes ces raisons, qu'il est ab-
 solument necessaire, tant pour le bien commun
 de la Chrétienté, que pour leurs interêts, que
 V^{otre} Excellence parte au plûtôt pour Nime-
 gue, ensuite des ordres qu'Elle a recen.

Je suis,

De V. E.

Le tres humble & tres.

Obeissant serviteur

Gasp. Fagell.

To

To Sir *Joseph Williamson*.*Nimwegen, Aug. 9. S. N. 1678.*

S I R,

IN humble obedience to his Majesty's Express Commands, I Sir *William Temple* came hither at Seven a Clock last Night : Immediately upon my Arrival *Monsieur de Balba* sent to know whether he might make me a Visit, which I consented to, and he came accordingly.

His Discourse consisted of his Hopes, that I brought a good Peace along with me ; his Desires to hear whether the Treaty at the *Hague* were ratified or no ; and his Complaints that the *French*, notwithstanding the *Swedes* having desisted, yet still refused to sign the Peace. That, for his part, he could not be sorry for it ; for though he should have signed it if they had consented, yet after having signed a Peace so destructive to *Christendom*, he should have retired himself from all Publick Business for the rest of his Life.

Upon the enquiring the Occasion of my coming, I told him, as I have done every Body else ; that having been assured at the *Hague*, that the *Suedes* here having de-

sisted from their Pretensions of being restored before the Evacuation of the Places : And the *French* having always professed that Difficulty to have been raised wholly upon their Occasion. I made no question but the Peace would be immediately signed ; and thereupon came hither upon his Majesty's Orders, that I should be present at the Conclusion of it.

Upon the Marquis's going out ; my Colleague Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* came in to me : and being surprized at the unexpectedness of my Arrival, and I asking him whether he knew nothing of it : He said, Nothing, but from the Talk of a Confident Man lately arrived here ; who had given out, he had brought the Peace in his Pocket ; and Orders for Sir *William Temple* to come with him to *Nimegue*.

Hereupon, I shewed my Colleague my Instructions, which you last sent me, grounded upon Monsieur *du Croi*'s Proposition : He told me the Thing was done before I came : That the *Suedes* had not only desisted from their Pretensions ; but that the *French* had owned it in their Memorial on *Sunday* last, and declared, that upon it ; their Master desisted from detaining the Towns : But however, that his my Colleague ; did not find the Peace was much the nearer, since the *French* Ambassadors

adors did still refuse to sign it ; and persisted, that the *Dutch* should send to treat and conclude it, either with the King their Master in Person ; or with the Deputies at *Ghent* : Whereupon, consulting with my Colleague, we concluded together ; that we should not say any thing to the *Suedish* Ambassadors of what your last Instructions imported, unless they spoke to me of it, and seemed to expect it from me ; in regard that whatever his Majesty intended should be done by the *Suedes*, towards the Evacuation of the Towns, had been already fully done by them : And that no Declaration of his Majesty's Instructions to me was meant, or could tend to this new Difficulty raised by *France* ; about the *Dutch* deputing to the most *Christian* King, or to his Deputies at *Ghent*.

The next Visit I received was at Nine this morning from the *Danish* Ambassador, whose Discourse was chiefly upon the occasion of my Journey hither ; upon the Ground it may give to the *Dutch*, of receiving otherwise this Proposal from *France* than they might possibly have done if I had been at the *Hague* : upon the Liberty Monsieur *du Cros* had taken here of proning the Instructions he brought from his Majesty, and the great Credit he had at our Court ; which he, the Ambassador thought very

E c 2 strange,

strange, considering what he passed for at theirs, where he was sufficiently known. And thereupon he gave me a Character of the Man, which I will not trouble you with.

After the *Dane's* leaving me, the *Suedish* Ambassadors came in : Their Discourse consisted in valuing the generous Pace they had made, of desisting from their Pretensions, since those alone seemed so much to retard the Peace.

They said, that tho' they reckoned upon the good Offices of *Holland* after the Peace, as well as upon the Assistances of *France* towards their Restitution ; yet their chief Confidence was in the good Intentions of his Majesty towards their Crown ; of which they had received so good Testimonies upon all Occasions.

Hereupon they began to Discourse of the last *French* Memorial ; and made their particular Reflections upon two Passages in it. The first, that *France* seemed to intend ; that they, the *Suedes*, should owe their Restitution to the Measures that *France* should take with *Holland* upon that Occasion ; whereas their chief Hopes were from his Majesty, and they had very little from *Holland* beside their common Offices, after the Peace was made. The next was from the last Words of the Memorial ; by which it appears

appears that *France* intended to treat and conclude the Peace with the Deputies of the States, in a Place where there was like to be no Minister from *Sueden*; which they say, they did not very well understand, nor thought they had Reason to be satisfied with what the *French* Ambassadors told them upon it; that the King their Master's Intention was, the Peace should be signed here at *Nimeguen*; though it were concluded at St. *Quintin*.

All that I answered to these Discourses was, my Compliments upon the Declaration they had made, of desisting from their Pretensions rather than hindring the Peace of *Christendom*; and the assurances that I had Orders to give them, of his Majesty's good Intentions towards their Crown. And here our Discourse was like to end; when I resolved to make some mention of Monsieur *du Gros*, to find out what they would say upon it; and what the true Ground had been of his Journey and mine hither.

I told them, that I was in hopes to have found the Peace ready to be signed here when I came. For, besides the assurances the Pensioner had given me and Monsieur *Sylvercroft* at the *Hague*; of their Excellencies having desisted from their Pretensions which had difficulted the Peace. I heard, that Monsieur *du Gros* had said upon the

way hither ; that he carryed the Peace in his Pocket, and that he brought expresse Orders to them, the *Suedes* Ambassadors, which they had not before.

Monsieur Oxenstern said very gravely to this ; *Assurement nous n'avons pas agi par des ordres qui nous ont été portés par Mr. du Cros* : But *Monsieur Olivecrants* smiling said, *Monsieur ; pour ce qui est de la vanité, il faut pardonner à Monsieur du Cros, puisque vous sçavez qu'il est garçon.* I told them hereupon, that *Monsieur du Cros* had told both me and *Monsieur Sylvercroon*, that the Declaration made by the *Suedish* Ambassadors here, had been groundd upon the Assurances that his Majesty had given particularly to *Monsieur du Cros*, in *England*. *Monsieur Olivecrants* replied a little warmly. *Monsieur, vous me pardonnerez, cela a été fondé sur les assurances que le Roy m'a donné devant que de partir de Londres.*

By these Lights I suppose. you will be able to unriddle better than I can do here ; what hath been the true Bottom of all this Intrigue.

After the *Suedes* left me, the *Dutch* Ambassadors came in ; and presently after them, as we had concerted together, came I *Sir L. Jenkins*. They fell presently into Discourse of the last *French* Memorial ; in which they said, they could find little more than

than in the former, but that it was a Transposition of Words. For, whereas they had said before, they would not evacuate the Towns without Restitution to *Sueden*: They now say, they will evacuate the Towns; but they will first treat and agree with the *Dutch* about the Satisfaction of *Sueden*.

They said the first Period was clear, and that upon it they offered to sign the Peace: But the *French* refused, saying; that though their Memorial consisted of three Periods, yet they were to be taken, *pour une chose toute d' une suite*.

The next Remark they made, was upon the Words *toutes les places*, in the first Period. Which Word *toutes*, they found upon search never to have been in any of their Memorials or Letters before. And they observed, the Meaning of it might be, that though they desisted from the Design of retaining *all* the Places, yet they did not from that of retaining *some* of them: And the Words if you please to observe them, seem to bear it.

Monsieur Beverning said farther, that when he offered to Sign the Peace, and said, that they should not be many days longer at liberty, *a cause de leurs engagements*: The *French* replied: *Vous vous fies à vos engagements, Messieurs, et le Roy à deux cent mille*

hommes qu' il a bien paye. They told them farther, that his Majesty hath such Treaties with *France*, that would keep him from performing *ce que Monsieur Temple a stipulé à la Haye.* Whereto *Monsieur Colbert.* added ; *Et pourquoy Monsieur Temple ne vient il pas ? il a les ordres du Roy son Maître de revenir icy, aussi ne fait il à la Haye que du mal.*

After they concluded that the Design of *France* was to draw this Business into a particular Negotiation, between them and the States ; without either the *Suede* of the one Side, or their Allies of the other ; and without *England* too ; and by that means to hinder them from the assistance either of their Allies or of Us. That by these Memorials about Deputations to *France*, and by their Artifices in scattering Copies of them as soon as they were delivered, they hoped to prevent the Measures between Us and *Holland* ; and to draw out time while they pursued the Siege of *Mons.* and while *England* should grow weary of keeping up their Forces ; which they knew a Parliament would not be willing to pay for a Peace, though they would for a War. *Mr. Haren* added, *il n'y a personne si Aveugle qui ne voit tous ces artifices.* They both wished very much that I Sir *William Temple* were now at the *Hague*, because they doubted what Effect this Memorial of *France*

France might have upon them there ; when they should see in the first Period of it, a Declaration of the *French* to evacuate the Towns, but not consider that which follows.

The first Visit I Sir *William Temple* received this afternoon, was from Count *Kinski* ; whose chief Discourse was in extolling the Force of *England* ; which had appeared so much in his Majesty's late arming so powerfully in so short a time ; saying, that if the King pleased, he was Arbiter of the World ; and might be so of this Peace here, if he thought fit.

That for their part, (meaning the *Imperial* Ambassadors) in it ; all that he would say, was ; that they were sent hither, *pour traiter, et non pas pour recevoir des loix* ; but that the *French* understood it otherwise : And that nothing had passed between them, since the *French* published the Conditions upon which they would make the Peace, in the beginning of *April* last ; since which time they had often offered to treat upon them, but the *French* excused themselves ; and for their parts, they were resolved not to receive those Conditions without treating upon them.

Next to Count *Kinski* came to me the *Brandenburgh* Ambassadors, whose Discourses were either Compliment, or Politick

tick upon the Affairs of *Holland*: How near the Prince was being absolutely lost there about three Months ago ; and how much he was recovered since this last Incident from *France*, about the evacuating of the Towns.

The next Hours of five, six, and seven, this afternoon, were given to the three *French* Ambassadors, who had been the last to demand it of me ; having been yesterday out of Town at my Arrival. All passed with a great Compliment and Kindness ; besides which, *Monsieur d' Estrades* endeavoured to shew, that all the Sincerity in the World had been of his Master's Side, but that all had been Artificial on the part of the States, but especially on *Monsieur Beverning's* ; who he said, was, *trop habile homme*, and always found some specious thing or other to hinder the Peace ; by which the *French* found that the States absolutely had no mind to it, how much forever his Master desires it.

Monsieur Colbert's whole Discourse was, how the Incident touching the Towns proceeded wholly from *Monsieur Oxenstern* ; How the most *Christian* King could not in Honour refuse it to an Ally ; though he, (*Monsieur Colbert*) thought it much against his Master's Interest, and more against that of *Sueden* : That his Master had desisted
imme-

immediately upon the *Suedes* desisting by their Declaration ; which was made to them here, July 26th, S. N.

This made me reflect upon what *Monsieur de Cres* would have said so dear to his Majesty, after that the *Suedish* Ambassadors had given the Point here : And, as *Monsieur Ostrucemens* said, upon the Assurances his Majesty had given him before he came last from *London* : But as others interpret it here, from the Fears, that in case the War went on this Summer, the *Dutch* would lend their Fleet to the Allies ; to beat the *Suedes* clearly out of *Pomerania*.

I remember nothing in *Monsieur d'Avaux's* Visit, beside the ordinary things that passed in those of his Colleagues.

About eight a Clock, the *Dutch* Ambassadors came to us both a second time ; and said, they had Orders from their Masters to communicate to us the Answer they had newly received from them, to the *French* Memorial of Sunday last : Which was in short ; That they were ready to sign the Peace, and should be so till to morrow was past : After which they should be at liberty no longer, in regard of their Engagements with his Majesty : But, that if they, (the *French* Ambassadors) would sign the Peace, their Masters the States, after it was Signed, (to shew their Respects
to

to the Most *Christian* King,) would send their Ambassadors not only to St. *Quintin*, but to *Paris*.

The Time being thus short, and expiring to morrow at twelve at Night ; they told us, they would go strait from us to acquaint the *French* Ambassadors by word of mouth with this Answer of the States, intending to give it them to morrow more extensively in Writing.

We are always,

S I R,

Your most Faithful

Humble Servants

W. Temple.

L. Jenkins.

To

To Mr. Secretary *Williamson*.

Hague, August 16th. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

ON *Saturday* last in the Evening, I received yours of the 30th past at *Nimeguen*, with his Majesty's Orders to exchange the Ratifications of the late Treaty here; upon which you are pleased to say, his Majesty put so much Weight. I found upon computation, that yesterday being *Monday*, was the last Day allowed for the exchange of the said Ratifications; and resolved to ~~part~~ by three a Clock next morning, that I might not fail of arriving here in time; which I did about seven a Clock yesterday morning, after having been all Night upon the Way. I immediately spoke with the Pensioner, and acquainted him with my Orders to exchange the Ratifications, and of what you command me to let him know here, of his Majesty's Intention upon it; which was, that I should still endeavour to procure an Amendment of those Points in the Treaty, against which his Majesty has made exception; though he had not thought fit to delay

delay the Ratification upon it, both for the infinite Consequence of the Business, and his great Zeal to Support the Interests in question; upon which grounds he had chosen rather to rely upon the States for obtaining those Points after the Ratification, than to delay it upon them.

The Pensioner seemed extremely pleased that the Ratifications are come, and that he had order to exchange them; which he desired might be done in form at ten o'clock. As to the Points still insisted on, he said, he would not fail of acquainting the States with them at such times, and in such manner as he thought would conduce most to the Success of them, and thereby to his Majesty's Satisfaction; though he conceived, since a Peace was like to follow, his Majesty would find no necessity of insisting upon them for the present, and his Majesty's Ratification would have much more Force and Credit here; if it came barely to the States without those Circumstances, after the Pears they had been in of his Majesty's not Ratifying the Treaty.

After this, he fell immediately to speak of the Peace that had been lately signed at Nimeguen; and with great Trouble in his Face, and I believe at Heart; when I said, *Il faut avouer qu' elle est belle, principalement ayant ete signee sans l' Espagne.* He reply'd;

ed, it was true: But that this last would never have been done without *Monfieur du Cros's* Journey and his *debiting* both here and at *Nimeguen*; that his Majesty was resolved not to come to a Rupture with *France*, but had taken his Measures absolutely with them upon the Peace, and that Orders were sent over to my Lord *Sunderland* to that purpose. I told him, I discovered by my going to *Nimeguen*; that all the Business of Mr. *du Cros* had been only an Intrigue of his own: And, I believe, a Surprize upon his Majesty. That I had thereupon never said one word to the *Suedish* Ambassadors there, of his Majesty's warranting the Neutrality of *Spain*, or any thing else contained in the Dispatches received from *England* with Mr. *du Cros*; but had made that Advantage of my Journey, as in great measure to take away the ill Impressions which had been given them of his Majesty's Conduct by *du Cros's* Discourses, and the *French* Ambassadors upon them. He seemed to be extréam glad of both these Points; and said, he would immediately give the Prince notice of them. That *Monfieur du Cros's* Journey was a thing done, and so without Remedy; and therefore they must make the best of what was past, and provide as well as they could against what was coming upon them; in which

which they should have infinite need of his Majesty's Resolution and Constancy *pour supporter la foiblesse de quelques gens de cet Etat qui ne tendoient qu'à la ruine du pays aussi bien que du Prince.* That for his part, he saw very well the Artifices of *France* in all that had passed at *Nimeguen.* That, they knew, the *Dutch* Ambassadors had orders to Sign the Peace in case the Evacuation of the Places were yielded before the 11th of this Month according to our late Treaty, but that they could not Sign after that Day was expired. That they were resolved to prevent the force of this Conjunction between his Majesty and this State, by Signing the Peace that Night upon yielding to evacuate the Places, but that they had not discovered this Intention till ten a Clock that morning, is a Conference which lasted till three in the afternoon; after which they knew, there would neither be time for the *Spanish* Ambassadors to adjust their Treaty that Night, nor for the *Dutch* to send for Orders to the States, whether to Sign without the *Spaniards* or no: That the *Dutch* Ambassadors had *extremement precipité l'Affaire*; and that he knew very well, the *French* were persuaded by some of their Correspondents here, that the States having once Signed, though *Spain* should not agree, would yet
be

be concluded by it : And that the *French* Ambassadors had thereupon raised new Points in their Treaty with *Spain*, which had never been mentioned in the *French* Propositions at *Nimeguen*. That they would indeed have a very fine Game to play, if in only giving up *Maeſtricht* to the *Dutch*, they might retain the other Places in *Flanders* ; and have the Liberty thereby of invading *Cleves* and *Juliers*, while this State ſhould have their Hands tyed up : But that they would be deceived in all this meaſure. That the States would never Ratify the Treaty, unleſs that of *Spain* were firſt concluded ; and the Places in *Flanders* as well as *Maeſtricht* ſhould thereupon be actually evacuated. That, till *Spain* had Signed, they would neither ſend their Deputies to *France* (though they might poſſibly name them) nor ſo much as conſent to the ceaſing of Hoſtility. That, God be thanked, there was an Expreſſion in the late Treaty, by which his Majeſty and the States were engaged one to another ; not only in caſe *France* ſhould reſuſe to promiſe the Evacuation of the Places, but alſo in caſe they ſhould delay to do it, either upon the Account of the Satisfaction of *Sue-den*, or any other cauſe ; or in caſe after they had agreed to it, they ſhould *detrect*.

That the Ratifications being once

exchanged, he did not doubt, his Majesty would be firm to them in all these Points, as they should be both to him and to themselves.

After this, he told me, he should see me again, when the Commissioners came to exchange the Ratifications, which they accordingly did between Ten and Eleven, and the Exchange was made in form between us. *Monsieur Van Lewen* took occasion to say upon it; that, as nothing but our signing the Treaty could have made the *French* yield to the Point of evacuating the Places; so, nothing but our Ratification could keep them up to it. That they had discovered their Artifices more than ever, by the long *chicane* they had made with the *Dutch* Ambassadors, about retaining *Maeſſricht*, *Charleroy*, or *Ghent*, even the very Day they signed the Treaty: By which they shewed plainly, that nothing had brought them to it, but the fear of a firm Conjunction between *England* and *Holland*; and that he still feared what might be the Consequence of the Treaty signed without the *Spaniards*.

I told the Commissioners, his Majesty had ever reckoned upon *Spain*s concluding at the same time with them, and upon evacuation of the *Spanish* Places, as the very Fundamental Point of the States agreeing to the *French* Conditions. That I found before

fore I came from *Nimeguen*, that the Difficulties were like to be great between *France* and *Spain*; and that the *Dutch* Ambassadors thereupon had a mind to put that Business upon us the King's Ambassadors there; but that we had excused our selves from it, and told them, we had always looked upon it as a part of the States Agreement with *France*, and with which they ought to charge themselves as the most essential part of their own Treaty. I asked the Commissioners whether they were not of this Mind? the Pensioner said, they were; and that the *Dutch* Ambassadors should be charged with it, as a Point without which the Peace could not be ratified. *Monsieur Van Leven* seconded them, and said, it was the foundation of all the rest; and that he did believe, there was not one Man in the States would consent to the Ratification without it.

I remember nothing else that passed upon this Occasion: And shall upon the whole in short give you my own Opinion of the present Dispositions here in this great Conjunction. There is a Party here, that would certainly drive this State into such Measures with *France*, as might bring the Provinces not only into a Dependence, but even under the subjection of *France*. And this Party consists chiefly of Rich Men of the old *Lovestein* Faction, in Five of Six of the

great trading Towns of this Province. They are induced to it by the Hatred and Fear of the House of *Orange* ; and by the Belief, that if they live under the Protection of *France*, the Liberty and Trade of the Country shall be still preserved, and the Hands of the Government only changed from the Prince of *Orange's* Friends to those of this Party. The *French* have had all along but especially for these seven or eight Months past, a close Intelligence with the best Heads of this Party, and by them infused it into many well-meaning Men ; that nothing but the Protection of *France* can preserve these Countries in constant Peace, and thereby in Trade and Riches. That *France* can never have any Design upon their Liberties, because it would be against their own Interest ; in regard they could make better use of this State by their continuing to be great and rich, than if they should be weak and poor ; which would follow the suppression of their Liberties ; With many other plausible Things of this nature, reflecting upon the great Danger here, to be from the Prince of *Orange* in Conjunction with *England*.

On the other side, five of the Provinces here, and about Eleven or Twelve of Eighteen of the Towns in this Province, are generally in the Opinions and Interests of the
 Prince

Prince of *Orange* ; and whenever his Majesty falleth in heartily to back them by his Alliances, and any Artificial Dealing in the *French* Negotiations come to be discover'd, they grow to be so much Masters of all Resolutions here , that all the well-meaning Men, even in the great Trading Towns, fall in with them ; and those which are absolutely in the *French* Interest , dare not so much as speak in their Assemblies. But whenever it happens that any Paces of his Majesty give them a Suspicion of his Uncertainty in the Measures with them, the other Party then immediately gets ground, and the generality in the great Towns begin to conclude, that they had better accept any Terms of Peace from *France*, than rely upon a Support from *England* which they cannot be sure of.

All seem at present absolutely resolved not to ratifie the Peace with *France*, unless *Spain* likewise be concluded by it, and the Towns evacuated : But yet what this it self may come to, I cannot tell, in case his Majesty should give them occasion of doubting his Resolutions to support them in it. Which is all I shall trouble you with upon this Subject, or any other at this time, besides the Assurances of my being always,

S I R,

Your , &c.

F f 3

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Aug. 16th. S. N. 1679.

My LORD,

ON *Saturday* last in the Evening I received at *Nimeguen* by Express, your Lordship's, in the New Secretary's Hand, with one from Secretary *Williamson*, giving me order to exchange the Ratifications with this State, which were sent over last Post; and upon the Exchange whereof, Mr. Secretary tells me his Majesty put so much Weight. If it were so, sure he must have forgot that I was ordered the Post before to go away to *Nimeguen*, and that it is twenty six Leagues between this Place and that; so that if by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, the Express had been a Day longer coming to me; or if after receiving it, I had not travelled all Night as well as Day, I could not have been here time enough to have ratified it; the Term fixt for it by the Treaty expiring yesterday; and that perhaps the state of *Christendom* may in great measure depend upon this Ratification; for tho' the Peace between *France* and this State be signed, yet it must be the force of this Ratification

Ratification that must prevail with *France* to sign the Treaty with *Spain* too; and there-upon to evacuate really the Towns; and it must be the same Force that must keep this State from ratifying their Peace with *France*, unless *Spain* be likewise included, and the Towns really evacuated.

For my own part, I was never so amazed as to receive this Ratification of the Treaty, and Orders to exchange it. For, upon Mr. de Cros's Journey, and all he said at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen* upon it; as if it were on purpose to spread it both here and there; I did believe the King had taken his absolute Measures with *France*; that he was resolved not to ratify the Treaty here; and sent me away to *Nimeguen*, only to have me gone from hence, for the Reasons *Monsieur Colbert* gave for my Orders to go; *A cause que je ne faisois que du mal icy*. Besides, Mr. de Cros told them and others here, that all the Measures concerning the Peace were agreed by his Majesty, your Lordship, *Monsieur Barillon*, and him. That you were to enter into Alliance presently with *France* and *Sweden*; That Orders were gone to my Lord *Sunderland* to that purpose, and that his Lordship would make them publick here the next Post. How all this was to agree with my Treaty here, and Powers to negotiate with the Confederates, made, I confess,

self, my Head turn round, and seemed to hang together like Ropes of Sand. In the mean time, I had found out by the *Swedish* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, that the whole Business of *de Cros* was a Mystery to them, that they knew nothing in the World of it till he came to *Nimeguen*; only the Post before he had writ them word he was coming: That they had given the *French* Ambassadors their Declaration of desisting from their Pretensions, the 26th of last Month, *S. N.* and that the very Hour *Mr. de Cras* arrived, and was with them, the *French* Ambassadors came in, to let them, the *Swedes*, know they had orders to desist likewise from their Pretensions of detaining the Towns.

Both the *Swedish* Ambassadors told me, that when they delivered this Message to *de Cros*, who was all the while in the House, he was, *Si étonné qu'il étoit prêt de tomber de son haut*; and yet that he had the Impudence to write to his Master the Duke of *Holstein*, that he had made the Peace. This they told me both together; and next day, *Monsieur Olivecrants* alone told me, *de Cros* had so much Address as to get them both to sign a Letter to his Majesty, of his own drawing up, which seemed to give him (*de Cras*) some share in the Business; and that he (*Monsieur Olivecrants*) was extremely
ashamed

ashamed of it, because the contrary would appear by the Date of their Declaration to *France*; but that this whole Intrigue of *de Cros* was an arrant Comedy. For my own part, I wish it were so, but the Effects are more than ridiculous, and I doubt have shaken his Majesty's Credit more than was to be wished at this time. And for my part, I have, upon what the *Swedes* told me, very plainly said to the *Dutch* Ambassadors and others, that it was a downright *fourberie* of *de Cros*, and that I had no other Business at *Nimeguen* but to observe the Motions of the Peace at the Critical Term. In short, 'tis signed; and I have writ to Mr. Secretary, with what Dispositions on the *French*, and what on this side, and what all may come to upon it I know not, but am sure it will extremely depend upon his Majesty. But, what the Dispositions will be there, I can never pretend more to tell, since you could not so much as keep your Countenance three Weeks together, and have now ratified a Treaty, which Mr. Secretary found fault with every Line of; and since you could suffer such a Man as *de Cros*; of whom the Pensioner said at my but naming of him, *C'est un fourbe des fourbes*, to give so unhappy a *branle* to the Affairs of the World. But, after all I must beg your Lordship to let me know, when you did re-

fol.

solve to send him and those Instructions, why not to Sir *L. Jenkins* that was upon the Place, but to me that was engaged here in an Affair of another nature. Well, I can say no more, but that it has so broke my Head, that I think it will not be right again : And I must beg of your Lordship, that you will please to let his Majesty know that I grow old and infirm, and am not fit for these sudden Commands : That if he thinks I can be of use to him till the end of this Conjunction, I am content to stay that Period ; but, for returning to *Namwegen*, I shall not be able to do it ; nor do I think there can be need of more than one ; if there be, Mr. *Hyde* is in Commission : But let who will be there instructed as I find Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* is, there had as good be none at all : Whatever becomes of my Health, or Heart, or Honour, your Lordship will ever be assured of my being,

My LORD,

Tour, &c.

Post.

Postscript.

My LORD,

SINCE the writing of this I have received Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* of the 2^d Instant, and a long one from Mr. *Aglionby* of the same Date, with an Account of all his Majesty's, the Duke's, and your Lordship's Discourses to him upon the present Conjunction: By which I find you will have reason to think of the Man and his late Intrigue, as I have done ever since I spoke with the *Swedish* Ambassadors; but what you will think after he has been with you, I know not, considering his Address; one part whereof has been, to make the *Leyden French Gazette* publish yesterday; That upon *Monsieur de Cros's* Arrival at *Nimeguen* the Peace was immediately signed; so that it must have been done upon something he brought with him from *England*. I cannot but add one Thing the Pensioner told me since my Return; which was, that among many other things *de Cros* had spread both here and at *Nimeguen*, of which you have Account enough already; he told the *Swedish* Ambassadors as well as the *French*, that the King was absolutely for a Peace,

Peace, and would not come into the War ; but that the Duke was wholly for the War, and with Intention by it to bring the Prince to be Sovereign of this Country ; being wholly in that Interest since the Marriage of his Highness.

Upon the whole you will best be able to judge there, from what Springs this whole Thing has moved, finding how early *Sweden* has made their Declaration of desisting, which was the 16th of July O.S. How *France* had resolved to sign the Peace with the *Dutch* upon the Evacuation of the Places, if they could not prevail for the Deputation to St. *Quintin* ; and how all this has pass'd, it seems, without any Communication with his Majesty : For, in the Letters of the 2d Instant, you knew nothing of any such Resolution in *France*, for ought I see ; and the *French* Ambassadors received their Orders to sign upon Monday the 29th of July, O. S. tho' they kept them private till Wednesday, which was the last Day the *Dutch* were at liberty ; and thereby put them upon doing it so precipitately, that they might neither be able to take *Spain* along with them, nor to consult with the States whether to sign or no.

This is enough upon so unpleasant a Subject. Now, for my going to *Nimeguen*, after I had first resolved to stay, when I received

ceived my Instructions; I will tell your Lordship just upon what Point that Resolution turned. The day after I dispatch'd my Secretary with my first Resolution; Mr. *Meredith* told me, the King had been extreme earnest upon my going to *Nimeguen*, without any more Circumstance than bare Communication to the States. *Monfieur Sylvercroon* came and told me, the *Swedes* had not absolutely desisted from their Pretensions, tho' they had declared they would; and the Pensioner writ me this Letter all in his own Hand, whereof I send you the Copy, by which he made my going absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Interest, and that of the Prince, as well as all other Considerations; since *de Cros* had made the Subject of it so publick, that several of the States of *Holland* had told the the Pensioner of it the day after *de Cros* had passed by this Place. All that I can say farther to your Lordship is, that if the King be really upon no better Terms with *France*, than he seems to be by all the last Dispatches, and that they play their Game here whenever they can, and with us only when they cannot compass their Ends here: And if his Majesty will, on the other side, endeavour to hinder that Game, and keep the Dependance of this State upon the Crown of *England*, he must, I doubt, come to these Two Resolutions.

First,

First, to assure the Prince of *Orange* that *he* will take no farther Measures either upon the Peace or War, till he has first concerted them with him : And next, to come to a resolution to join absolutely with this State, in any Measures they shall think necessary for their safety upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers* ; without which, the Prince and Pensioner think the State lost : But they know not whether they will come up to it themselves, till they find whether they shall be backed by his Majesty ; But in that case they are confident the States will be positive either before the Peace or after.

I humbly beg your Lordship's Pardon for this long and hasty Scribble, which I am ashamed of, and yet now it is done, it will be necessary to shew it his Majesty, being all the Lights I can give from hence, besides what I have given to Mr. Secretary, and all the Account I can give of my own Conduct.

I am, &c.

Your Lordship will understand, by my Dispatch to Mr. Secretary, that I having said not a Word to the *Swedes* at *Nimeguen*, but only general Professions of his Majesty's Kindness to that Crown ; the
King

King is at liberty wholly on that side, unless Mr. *de Crofs* had Power to bind him.

To Sir. *Joseph Williamfon.*

Hague, Aug. 19th. S. N. 1678.

S I R,

BY Sir *L. Jenkin's* Express I gave you yesterday the Trouble of, one of mine, with a Copy of the Treaty signed the 10th, between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*. I am apt to believe, that what was signed at first was rather a *brouillon* than any fair and formal Draught; both the *French* and *Monsieur Van Beverning* having run the Affair out of all Forms, to prevent the Fatal Minute, as they thought it, of Twelve a Clock that Night; after which the *Dutch* had declared they could not sign; And *Monsieur Beverning* suffers, as I find, in every bodies Opinion here; having, as they assure me, never had any Orders to sign, but only to pass an Act upon the *French* consenting to evacuate the Places, that the States would thereupon sign the Peace so soon as the Treaty with *Spain* should be agreed

greed. Let the Spring have been where it will, the Precipitation of the Affair appears in many Points that reflect much upon *Monfieur Beverning's* Conduct, who confesses, they had not time to read it over. For, besides a Contradiction in two Articles, which give one Six Months, and another nine Months time for the same thing, there were three essential Faults. The First, Not drawing so much as an Act from the *French* Ambassadors for the evacuation of the *Spanish* Towns, tho' the *Spanish* Ambassadors had given them one before the signing, whereby they consented to the Terms offered them by the *French* Proposition. The next was, (which I hear in private) that whereas it was agreed upon between them, that the Differences between the States and *Sweden* should be endeavoured to be adjusted in three Months time, and that in the mean while there should be a Neutrality: When the Article was drawn up, the Term of three Months was omitted, so that the Article runs in general. The third concerns his Majesty more particularly, and his defensive Alliance with this State: For, in the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace, where the States promise a Neutrality, and not directly, nor indirectly to assist the Enemies of *France*, it runs generally; which destroys the Force of any defensive League they have

have made. But when I spoke to the Pensioner and *Monfieur VanLewen* about it, they both told me that the States had immediately taken notice of it as soon as the Transcript of the Articles came to them, and had then sent to *Monfieur Beverning* to reproach him upon it, with order to have it immediately redressed: Without which they ordered him to declare to the *French* Ambassadors, that it should not be ratified; and it is to be mended by the Addition of these Words, after, *les ennemis de France & des Alliés Durant le cours de cette guerre, & à l'égard de ceux qui y sont maintenant engagés.* They interpret the dressing of this Article in *French*, to have been industrious on their part, as well as negligent on the *Dutch* Side.

To morrow *Monfieur Beverning* will make his Report to the States, how this whole Business has passed, and particularly of the State wherein I left the Differences between the *French* and the *Spaniards*. Accordingly, tho' I have no Letters from you this Post, yet having seen one from *Monfieur Van Beuninghen*, which confirms me in the Opinion I was, that his Majesty would desire the *Spaniards* might come to sign too; without which the Towns in *Flanders* would not be evacuated; I have spoken as large with

Monsieur de Lyra upon this Point, who I take to be the Spring of the *Spaniards* Motions in all these Parts.

I find his Resolutions are to try if he can make the States disown their Ambassadors : But in case he cannot obtain that, and be pressed to dispatch the Treaty now on foot, he will give into it even with the Point of Neutrality ; laying this for his Maxim, to hold this State up to the best Terms he can for his Master, but however not to break with them ; and to pursue the closest Measures he can with them after the Peace, and by their Means endeavour the same with his Majesty, upon the belief that all three are equally concerned in preservation of whatever is left in *Flanders*.

While I was in this Dispatch, the Pensioner and *Monsieur Van Lewen* came to me from the States to let me know, that having received Letters from *Monsieur Van Bunninghen*, by which they found that *Monsieur du Cros* had informed his Majesty, that the States had made Paces in this Treaty, disagreeing with the Measures taken between his Majesty and them, and of private Concert between them and *France* ; particularly that they desisted from pressing the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and had granted the *French* a Passage at *Vifet* for invading those Countries : The States had
ordered

ordered them both to write to *Monsieur Van Beuninghen*, and to desire me to assure his Majesty, that it was all a false Information. And whereas they found endeavours had been used thereupon, to possess his Majesty, that the Peace being made, there would be no farther use of his Forces in *Flanders*; they desired not only the Continuation of those that were there, but likewise that he would be pleased to send over more, since the Peace was yet upon very ticklish Terms.

They said hereupon, that they every day discovered some new Artifices in the dealings of *France*; for now they proposed two Months to be the Term of the Ratification between them and the *Spaniards*, tho *Spain* desired but a Month; which was done out of design to retard the Evacuation of the Places, till his Majesty and the States should retire their Forces out of *Flanders*. But that they were confident the States would not ratifie their Treaty, till *Spain* should ratifie theirs, and the Evacuation of the Places immediately follow.

The Pensioner staying some time with me alone, told me, both the States of *Holland*, and States General had approved the Prince's late Action near *Mons*, and sent him thanks for it, as well as for his Conduct the next day, in acquainting *Monsieur*

deLuxemburg with the Peace, and agreeing a Cessation of Arms for two days.

I took notice of the 30th Article of the Treaty of Commerce, about the Liberty of building Ships, as one that had been introduced in the time of their best Intelligence, upon the Treaty of 1662 ; and which I thought too much for a bare Treaty of Peace and Amity. But he said, this Article was in their Treaties of Commerce with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as *France* : That *France* had made one Tryal of it by building four or five Ships here ; but had been so served in it, that they never returned any more, and he did believe never would, or if they did, should fare no better.

That they, the States, were ready to come to any new Treaty of the strictest Alliance that his Majesty should think fit after the Peace, since nothing but a firm Conjunction between them could stop the Career of *France*. He said, that their Ambassadors had strict Orders to insist upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, even after the Peace ; but it having been omitted in the first hasty Acceptation of the Peace, some Towns would not be brought to *acrocche* it absolutely upon That. What they might do when it came nearer to them he could not tell ; but was apt to believe, that the *Spaniards* once agreeing, it might run

to a General Peace, and that the Affairs of the *North* it self would not hinder it,

I am,

Tour, &c.

To Sir *Joseph William* *son.*

Hague, Aug. 23d S. N. 1678.

S I R,

ON *Saturday* last *Monsieur Beverning* made his Report to the States, and in particular, of the Difficulties remaining between the *French* and *Spaniards*; which consisted chiefly in the *French* Demands of the County of *Beaumont*, of *Bovines*, of Security for the Cession of *Dinant*, and of an Article of Neutrality from the *Spaniards*. The Report was received so coldly, and followed with such Imputations of ill Conduct, upon those Points I mentioned in my Last, especially the Omission in the 13th Article, and not procuring an Act from the *French* Ambassadors for the Evacuation of the Places; that *Monsieur Beverning* when he came

out of the Assembly, swore to his Friends, that he would give up his Commission, and that nothing should engage him to return to *Nimeguen* any more; laying the Fault of all Omissions upon his Precipitation; and that upon the Advices and Orders from hence, which he had followed to the best of his Understanding. He went immediately to his House in the Country, where he continues ever since; tho' some of the States have engaged several of his best Friends to go down and endeavour to reclaim him.

Yesterday about Noon the Prince arriv'd at *Hounslerdyke*, after having agreed with the Duke of *Luxemburg* about a Cessation of Hostility till the Ratification of the Treaty, and about withdrawing the Forces on each Side; and thereby left *Mons* open. I attended his Highness in the Afternoon, and found him much unsatisfied about the Signing of the Peace without *Spain*; which he said absolutely, the Ambassadors had no farther Orders for, than only to threaten the *Spaniards*, that in case they would not consent to the Article of Neutrality, they would sign without them. But, that it was done, and since his Majesty was so well pleased with it, as it seemed by *Monsieur Van Beuninghen's* Letter, they must make their best of it, and drive it on to a Peace, in case *France* would be sincere in it with the *Spaniards*.

wards. But that he much doubted it, unless the same Resolutions and Paces of his Majesty, which had engaged him to promise the evacuation of the Places, should bring it to a Conclusion. He was very melancholly upon what Condition this Peace would leave all the Affairs of the Allies in, and the just Reproaches this State was to expect from them ; which he was to bear his share in, how little soever he had deserved it. He said a great deal of *Monsieur de Cro's* Journey, and what Effects it had here ; but that he had not yet spoken with the States, and could not tell what it was they would be at : But that he would see me to day, after he had been in the Assembly. I found him unsatisfied with *Monsieur Beverning*, but yet of opinion, that he must return to *Nimeguen*, and end this Business of *Spain*, without which it could not be a Peace.

The same day I spoke with *Monsieur Van Lewen*, who told me, the *French Ambassadors* had consented to the redressing the 10th Article, in the manner I writ in my last ; and that the States *auroient crevé plutôt que de faire la paix sans cela.* That no State could have greater Obligation than this had to his Majesty, and that every body in it was sensible that they owed the Peace wholly to him, in case they had

it, which would yet depend upon that between *France* and *Spain* ; and this upon his Majesty's Resolutions to support them in standing firmly upon it, as the Point upon which their own Treaty was grounded.

This Afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me, he found a general Disposition in the States, not to ratify the Peace, till *Spain* should be ready to do it at the same time. But yet, he desired very much, that his Majesty would give me Orders to press them upon this Point, if there should be occasion, and that nothing new should be imposed upon the *Spaniards* beyond the Conditions given in by the *French* at *Nimeguen* : He desired likewise that his Majesty would give order to his Ambassador at *Nimeguen*, to propose as from his Majesty a general suspension of Arms for Six Months, in order to the Treating of a General Peace; and desired me that I would not fail to represent both these Points to his Majesty from his Highness by this Post. He saith, by Advices from *Nimeguen*, he finds the *French* Ambassadors there seem well enough disposed to it, upon the *Nuntio's* having already proposed it ; but, that nothing will give it so much Force as coming from his Majesty, and therefore is very earnest in it.

Mr. *Meredith* sends you the Treaty printed, as likewise that for cessation of Hostilities, so that I shall not increase your present Trouble beyond the Assurance of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

P. S.

THE Prince has engaged *Monsieur Beverning* to come to Town to morrow; so as the States of *Holland* will then fall into consultation upon the Points in difference between *France* and *Spain*.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Aug. 26th. 1678. S. N.

My LORD,

I Had the honour of one from your Lordship of the 12th, by my Secretary, who came over with Mr. Hyde. I will not enter into the Reasons of this warm and sudden Motion in *England*, nor can I into the Effects of it abroad. A little time will tell us the last : And for the first; it is my part rather to look towards the Events, than enquire into the Causes of it. All I shall say is, that it has extremely surpris'd every body here, and none more than the Prince, unless it be my self. For your Lordship knows, when I came away, his Majesty's Resolution was, to have the Peace if he could, upon the Evacuation of the Places; and in the course of this whole Matter, to follow and support *Holland* in the Paces they should make, and not to lead them : And you may remember I told his Majesty at the Foreign Committee, that I knew very well the Dispositions of *Holland* towards the Peace were such, that if he should have had a Design to engage them farther

farther in the War, his Endeavours towards it must be like those of Rowers, that look one way and go another. I should have been glad his Majesty would have begun upon this Occasion, what your Lordship tells me he has resolved, of concerting first with the Prince any measures he should take, especially in what relates to these Countries, where he can certainly give his Majesty the best Lights, and such as it is not possible for his Majesty to have, in taking sudden Resolutions upon Affairs that are in motion, and have such sudden Turns. As in this it self, his Majesty could not know that the Prince had himself concluded a Cessation of Hostility with *France*, till the ratification of the Treaty. And yet that very Circumstance made a great change in the Event like to attend Mr. *Hyde's* Commission. The Particular of his Instruction, to say, his Majesty would recall his Forces out of *Flanders*, in case the States fell not into his Opinion of the late Treaty's having place; was, I suppose, intended to draw them into his Majesty's present Mind, and thereby to save *Flanders* as well as *Holland* from falling into the hands or dependance of *France*. But the Prince and Pensioner severally, at the very first mention of it, concluded it would have a quite contrary effect, and must

must certainly occasion the loss both of this Country and *Flanders*, as you will find by Mr. *Hyde's* Dispatch; which is so exact, that I can add nothing to it towards his Majesty's Information; only I will tell your Lordship what the Prince said to me last Night upon it: Which was, that he was very glad to see his Majesty in this Mind, and that he knew very well what Effects it would have had, if they had been assured of it here Three Weeks ago: But what it would have now, he could not tell; for they were all so surprized, especially after *Monsieur Van Beuninghen's* Letter, which said so much of his Majesty's being pleased with the Peace, that no body had said a Word upon it. That, for his part, if he had been first consulted in it, he should have been for his Majesty's sending to the States, not to ratify the Treaty without *Spain's* ratifying theirs at the same Time, and being thereby assured of the Evacuation to follow immediately. That if his Majesty had only pressed this, and assured the States at the same time of his Resolution to support them by a vigorous Execution of their Treaty, in case of any Refusal or Difficulty from *France*; he was confident the Thing would have been done, and there-

by

by either *Spain* been included, or the States gone on with the War. But that he did not know what Effect This now come from his Majesty would produce in the great Towns of *Holland*, where they were so apt to be jealous of his Highness's Designs to continue the War. That we should see in a few Days, and that he chiefly apprehended the Town of *Amsterdam* upon it.

What your Lordship says of your forbearing to say those Things I desired you to tell his Majesty about my self, is too obliging in you not to be acknowledged: But yet I must beg your Lordship to believe, that none can judge so well of a Man as himself; who feels what is within, whilst others only see what is without; and ends the Decays of Age or Indisposition in his Body and his Mind, while he may disguise them to other People. Whenever I thought my self able to do his Majesty Service, though I never sought it, yet I never refused it: But whenever I shall find my self incapable of doing it any longer, and let his Majesty know it, I hope he will believe it: And in the mean time I beg your Lordship not to think any thing I say of that kind is Humour, but a true Judgment I make of my self by what I feel, and what I told both his Majesty and your Lordship

Lordship before I came over, would happen to me by any long stay in these Countries, which have ever been so contrary to my Health.

I cannot tell your Lordship how sensible a Part I bear in the Indisposition of the Family as well as your own, but comfort my self with the Hopes Mr. *Aglionby* gives me, of their being well over; and will not engage your Lordship, at present, in any farther Trouble, than the assurance of my being ever with equal Passion and Truth,

My LORD;

Your, &c.

To

To the Duke of ORMOND.

Hague, Aug. 30th. S. N. 1678.

My LORD,

I Could not receive a greater Honour or Satisfaction than by your Grace's Letter of the 12th past; which I should sooner have acknowledged, but that since my last I have been engaged in such suddain and unexpected Motions, as well as the Business here in such Turns, as have left me neither Time nor Patience; nor Concernment enough sometimes, to think of many things I ought to have done: Among which, I reckoned all Duties I owed to your Grace, and this in that Number.

I shall as Succinctly as I can, pursue the Thread of those two Accounts I gave your Grace at my leaving *England*, and since my Arrival here to this time. After which I do not expect to meet with any thing worth your Grace's Trouble or my own; having my Head turned wholly another way, and cured of those impertinent Sollicitudes which have so often busied it about Publick Affairs, and to so little purpose.

After

After my last to your Grace, and till the 4th of this Month and this Style ; I took my self to have mastered the Business his Majesty had sent me upon here. The Treaty was Signed, and by it the Day fix'd, being the 11th instant ; for *France* to yield the Evacuation of the Places, or his Majesty to come into the War with the States. *France* had failed of all their Endeavours to break these Measures : The States had resolved not to send their Deputies to treat with the *French* King in Person at *St. Quintin*, and not to Sign their Treaty even upon the Evacuation being yielded ; unless in Conjunction with *Spain*. The Time of Decision drew near, and the most *Christian* King seemed so far engaged by his peremptory Answers to his Majesty, as well as by his Ambassadors Declarations at *Nimeguen*, not to evacuate the Places till the Satisfaction of *Sueden*, that every Body was at a gaze, which would prove of most weight, this Point of Honour, or that of Interest ; not to see *England* engaged in such a Confederacy against *France* : And in the mean time, whether it should prove a Peace or a War. The Measures were so closed between us and *Holland*, that nothing in appearance was like to shake them. For, though upon my Signing the Treaty, Mr. Secretary *Williamson* had found great Faults with many Particulars of it, and sent me Orders to
get

get them amended, or else the King could not ratify ; yet they being such Points as had been impossible to be obtained here, and wherein I was left at Liberty by my Instructions ; this Difficulty had only been communicated to the Prince and the Pensioner here, who had Confidence of Satisfying his Majesty in those Particulars, without making them Publick ; which they thought would have ill Effects upon the States at so Critical a time in the Measures between us.

Upon the 4th Current, Mr. *Meredith* the King's Secretary of the Ambassy, who had gone over with the Treaty, arrived here ; and in his Company one *Monsieur de Cros*, Stiled at *London* Envoy of the Duke of *Holstein*. Mr. *Meredith* brought me an Instruction to let the States know, that the King had resolved to give a Guaranty upon the Peace, to the Neutrality which *Spain* should enter upon towards the Enemies of *Sweden* ; and that I had command to go immediately to *Nimeguen*, to acquaint the *Swedish* Ambassadors there with this Resolution of his Majesty, and endeavour thereby to induce them to quit their Pretension of being restored before the Evacuation of the Towns ; that so *France* might be at Liberty to make that Pace towards the Peace. My Instructions told me likewise, that this was done upon Insinuations made his Ma

On the 11th in the morning the *French* Ambassadors came to the *Dutch*; and in Conference of five hours, wherein they press'd very much to keep some of the Towns, but found the *Dutch* obstinate in all; they yielded at last, and agreed to sign the Treaty, and both came to us the Mediators to desire us to sign with them. We asked whether *Spain* Signed at the same time, and were included, and finding they did not; we refused to Sign with them, or at all to intervene in the Treaty without new Orders; since ours directed us to all Paces necessary for a general Peace, but not to any for a particular one. We expostulated with the *Dutch* for going about to Sign without *Spain*, contrary to what had always been his Majesty's and the States Intention; but *Monsieur Beverning* said, he must Sign that Night though he lost his Head; and so they did, between eleven and twelve a Clock; the Instrument having been hardly finished by that hour; when our last Treaty with *Holland* for carrying on the War would have begun to take place.

Next day they fell into the Business between *France* and *Spain*; wherein they met with so many Difficulties by new Demands of the *French*, that they confessed they found plainly the *French* Designs in this
Preci-

Precipitation; which was; that the *Spaniards* might not have leisure to adjust their Treaty, so as to Sign at the same time, nor the *Dutch* Ambassadors have leisure to send a Courier to the States for particular Orders, whether to Sign or no without *Spain*; and thereby to divide the States from *Spain*, and concluding their Peace separately with the first, be obliged only to restore *Maeſtricht*, but keep the Places in *Flanders* still in their Hands.

Upon this *Monsieur Beverning* told us, that they had made a Pace that had ruined both the States and all their Neighbours; and when he said the same to his Allies, laid the Fault upon his Majesty; who had (as he said from *Van Beuninghen's* Letter out of *England*) first refused to ratify the late Treaty without Conditions that were not possible for this State to admit; and by *du Cros's* Journey had satisfied the States what Measures the King had taken with *France* for the Peace, and how little was expected from *England* as to any Rupture with that Crown. Of all which we gave account to Court.

On the 13th at Night I received by Express the notice of the Ratification of his Majesty's Treaty with this State, being arrived at the *Hague*, and Commands to exchange them without those Difficulties

that had before been made by Secretary *Williamson*. The last day allowed for the Exchange was the 5th, so that if the Express had by Winds or other Accident been kept four and twenty hours longer upon the Way, or I had not gone all Night as well as all Day; I could not have come time enough from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, to make the Exchange: And the whole Treaty, upon which his Majesty began to put so much weight, had been out of doors.

The Ratifications being exchanged in Time and Form, the Pensioner with the greatest Chagrin in the World complained of *de Cros's* Journey, as that which had ruined the whole Affair, by giving such Impressions here and at *Nimeguen*, as had precipitated the Signing of the Peace without *Spain*; and told me, the Prince had never been so troubled at any thing in his Life; and that he doubted it would engage him in some desperate Action. The same Night being the 15th, I received Letters from *England*, telling me, they had discovered the Artifice of *de Cros* in that whole Business, and how mischievous it might prove, and that they hoped I had not pursued my Instructions, as I had certainly not done, if they had been sent privately to me, and the whole Business

not been communicated to him : But the Thing was done, and all I could say of it was, that having found at my Arrival at *Nimwegen*, the *Swedes* had actually made the Pace towards which his Majesty seem'd wholly to aim by my Instruction ; I had never said any thing of it to the *Swedish* Ambassadors, and thereby left *de Cros* wholly discredited with Them and the *French*, and all others there : And told them that I found plainly his whole Business was a *Fourberie* ; which sent him Home railing at me, that I would not obey my Orders, and that I was resolv'd to engage the King in a War, when his Majesty was resolv'd not to enter into any with *France*.

On the 16th at Night, we received News of the Prince's bold Action near *Mons* : For the Honour whereof, I will only tell your Grace, that the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimwegen* had assured me, that their Army was so Posted, that if they had but ten thousand Men, and the Prince fifty thousand ; he would find it impossible to attack them.

The Success of it you will have heard from many Hands ; and found, that after the Prince no Man had a greater share in the Danger and Honour of it than My Lord *Ossory*, who charged upon the most

desperate Pass, and left a great many Men and Officers behind him. For the Prince, all agree, there was not a common Soldier in the Army so much exposed, leading up every Squadron himself in the Wing he charged, and being the whole time of the Engagement in the very hottest of the Fire.

The Day after the Battle, the Prince received the States Letters; giving him an Account of the Peace being Signed; upon which he sent to the Duke of *Luxemburg*, to know if he would upon it raise the Siege of *Mons*: For which he took two days time to send for Orders, and then consented to do it; and so the Affair ended, and the Armies retired to their Quarters. If some Miscarriages had not happened in this Action from some of the Confederates, the *French* Army had certainly been broken that day. And if the news of the Peace being made publick, with some other Circumstances had not prevented it the next; the Business would have come to a great Decision between the Armies, and with much appearance of Advantage to the *Dutch*, upon the Conjunction with a Body of fresh *English* Foot, which would have had great Influence upon all Sides. But it was otherwise decreed.

On the 19th, Letters came from *England*, but none to me from Court; upon the belief I might be at *Nimeguen*, as Mr. Secretary pretended. But the Letters from *Monsieur Van Beuninghen* to the States said; though the King and Court had, at first report of the Peace being Signed, seemed a great deal surprized; yet he had next day talked with them, and found them very well pleased with it, and with the Conduct of the States: And a private Letter to the Foreign Ministers here said, it went so far, that they were upon the Point of disowning me and Sir *L. Jenkins*, for refusing to Sign the Peace as Mediators.

On the 22^d, the Prince arrived here, and having been in the States the 23^d, where he was received with great Applause: He came to me that Evening; and after Complaints of their Ambassadors having Signed the Peace without *Spain*, and the ill Consequences it was like to have upon the Affairs of *Christendom*: He said, however since his Majesty was pleased with it, there was nothing to be done but to endeavour to include *Spain* in it; and afterwards to drive it on to a general Peace; without which, *France* having all their Forces at liberty on this Side, would in very little time be Masters of the *Rhine*, and all the
great

great Cities upon it, from *Strasbourg* to *Cologne*, if not to *Wesel*; and after that would soon be Masters of these Countries and *Flanders*. And therefore he desired, his Majesty would propose a general Suspension of Arms by his Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*: Which I writ the same Night to Court, upon the Prince's Desire, and with the Reasons of it.

The next day being the 24th, Mr. *Hyde* arrived here, having made his Passage in twenty four Hours from *London*; and brought positive Instructions with him to let the States know, how much the King had been surprized with their Ambassadors Signing the Treaty without *Spain*, and with the Difficulties that still remained upon the *Spanish* Treaty, and the Evacuation of the Places. That his Majesty was thereupon of opinion that the States could not ratify that Treaty; by what they were engaged to by the last Treaty I had made here to go on with the War; And that if they were of the same mind, and would signify it to him, he would within three days after such Signification, declare War against *France*, and in all Points pursue the last Treaty he had made with the States.

We acquainted the Prince that Night with this Commission; and the first Word he

he said upon it was ; that he knew very well what Effect this would have had, if it had come three Weeks before, and instead of *Monsieur de Cros* ; But what effect it would have now, he could not tell, farther than that it would surprize every Body. What he said to me in private was, that we were too cold and too hot ; and that he wondred we had not observed what they were always calling out to the *Steersmen* at Sea ; *Steddy, Steddy*. That all we could hope to make out of this was, but to keep up the States in the Resolution they were in already, of not Ratifying the Treaty without *Spain*. But it had another effect at the first noise upon the Towns here, and so far encreased the Jealousy of some concert between the King and Prince of *Orange*, for carrying on the War ; that *France* should perform the Conditions this State had accepted ; that the very next day after Mr. *Hyde's* Proposition, those of *Holland* passed a Resolution to send an Ambassador immediately into *France*, though under pretence of knowing that King's Mind, upon the differences remaining with *Spain* : And the next day those of *Amsterdam* proposed to Ratify the Treaty with *France*, even without the Inclusion of *Spain*. But the Prince's great Temper and Conduct hindred both one and the other ;

ther: The first, by the Voices of five other Provinces against that of *Holland*; and the other, by the rest of the Towns in *Holland* against that of *Amsterdam*: And brought it to a Resolution, both in the States of *Holland*, and States-General, not to Ratify the Peace without *Spain*; and to order their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* to go as far as possibly they can in accommodating the Points still in difference; which are small and few, and upon which I see no likelihood that either *Spain* or this State will continue the War. So that if *France* will have a Peace, and not raise new Difficulties beyond their own Propositions, I look upon it as unavoidable; And there has not been one time these four years past, when we might not have entered into the War with Advantage, besides this alone, when we have made an Offer at it, and thereby I suppose broke our Measures with *France*; though we have not taken them with the Confederates.

By last Post the King sent Orders to Sir *Lyonel Jenkins* at *Nimeguen*, to propose a general Suspension of Arms for six Months, in concurrence, as Mr. Secretary *Williamson* writes, with the Prince's desire. But the Prince asks how this agrees now with Mr. *Hyde's* Proposition; and observes, that

that when he desired it, 'twas before he knew any thing of this last Resolution of his Majesty's ; and on the contrary thought him pleased with the Peace. In short, whoever should take the pains to lay together the Paces we have made for these three Months past in this great Affair, would conclude, our Secretaries of State never remembred one day, what had been done the day before, or never cared what would be done the next. I am so far from speaking this with Design, that I am for my own part resolved to lay at his Majesty's Feet the Promise he made me a year ago of that Employment, as well as the Ambassy I am charged with: And should certainly have done it already, but the Prince has engaged me to defer it till this present Crisis be over, and till he shall have talked with me to the end of this Resolution.

I have nothing more worth increasing your Grace's trouble, and ought to ask Pardon for the Length of this. But I was resolved to give you once this Light, by which the farther Paces of this Affair may be better discerned even at the Distance your Grace is at.

I shall

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I shall only add, that in whatever Condition,

I am,

My LORD,

Your Grace's, &c.

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Aug. 30th. S. N. 1678.

My LORD,

I Have this Morning received the Honour of your Lordship's in my Son's Hands ; the Contents whereof chiefly concerning the Prince ; I thought fit to send it him immediately, though it found his Highness in the States of *Holland*, where the great Consultation or rather Debate was, to begin upon the Commission Mr. *Hyde* brought over. Because your Lordship pleases to say, you are impatient to know what my Opinion is upon the whole, after my Discourse with the Prince and Pensioner : I will add what I can think of, that may give you any farther Light than

than I did in my last upon this Occasion ; and in such a Conjunction may possibly be done by small Circumstances sometimes, better than by great.

The first Word the Prince said upon it to Mr. *Hyde* and me together, after he acquainted his Highness with his whole Instruction, was : That he knew very well what Effect this would have had, if it had come over three Weeks ago instead of *Monsieur de Cros* ; but that he could not tell what Effect it would have now, more than that it would surprize every Body : But that for his own part, he was very glad to find the King in that Mind, and thought it might do Good, and could do no Harm. And then said all that passed farther, of which Mr. *Hyde* gave you so exact an Account last Post.

The next day, the Prince speaking to me in private upon it ; at first lift up his Hands and Eyes two or three times, and said ; Is it possible that this and *de Cros's* Business could come from the same Hands : That he found by Mr. *Hyde's* Instructions, the King was troubled about what he had done in that Business : But it was a Pace that could not be discovered ; and that his resolving to warrant the Neutrality of *Spain* had undone us all ; for without that, this State would never have done it, nor
never

never have Signed without *Spain*, if *de Cros* had not persuaded them here, that the King had absolutely taken his Measures with *France* about the Peace. That the design of *de Cros*'s Journey was laid after Monsieur *Barillon* knew, his Master had resolved to Sign the Peace upon yielding to evacuate the Towns. That the end of it was to shake his Majesty's Measures here ; by making them believe he had taken them absolutely with *France* about the Peace, and to lose his Majesty's Credit wholly with all the Allies ; by letting them know, he was resolved to bring about the Restitution of *Sweden*, as soon as *Holland* was out of the War : And to have me sent to *Nimeguen*, just at the same time, that I might have hindred the Signing a Peace without *Spain* by my being here. That the *French* Ambassadors had told Monsieur *Odyke* immediately upon *de Cros*'s Arrival, that I had Orders to come away presently because I was making the War here, while his Majesty had taken his Measures with *France* for the Peace ; and that it was a bold thing of me to stay at the *Hague*, contrary to my positive Orders. The Prince added, that he knew from a good Hand, by whom this whole Business had been brought about, and made very Melancholly Reflections upon it. That ; for Mr.

Hyde,

Hyde's Commission, it would surprize the more here ; because after this very Business, and the Signing of the Peace being known in *England* ; Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had writ to the Statès, that the King approved of what they had done, and was glad of it. That it was too Cold, and too Hot : And that for his part, he always thought of the *Batswain* in the *Tatchts* which brought him over ; who was all Night crying out still to the Steersman, *Steddy, Steddy* ; which he thought was as necessary in all Council as at Sea. After this, he told me what Use he hoped might be made of it (which I writ your Lordship last Post) but that it could not bring the State again into War, unless *France* should refuse to Sign with *Spain* upon such Conditions as the State should think *Spain* had reason in ; or else refuse actually to evacuate the Towns, or to change the thirteenth Article of the Treaty.

These were the Prince's true Thoughts upon it. Monsieur *de Lyra* the *Spanish* Minister said upon it at first ; that this Resolution of his Majesty was a Miracle wrought for *Spain* and this State, if they could be so wise as to make use of it : But that he foresaw the States would not : That the Thing was gone too far since the Signing of the Peace by the States Am-

assadors, and of the Cession of Hosti-
 ty by the Prince; and that *Spain* could
 not hope to better their Terms by it; be-
 cause this State would not fall in with his
 Majesty, unless *France* should refuse to e-
 vacuate the Towns, which he was sure
 they would not do. So that what they
 could hope was, that the States seeing his
 Majesty so firm in it, would at least secure
 the evacuation of the Towns to *Spain*, as
 well as that of *Maestricht* to themselves.
 But that he was afraid of this generous
 Pace in his Majesty having an Effect upon
 the Jealousy, *Amsterdam* and some of the
 other great Towns had of the Prince; and
 his Design to continue the War in concert
 with *England*.

The Marquis *de Grana* (who is the Em-
 peror's chief Minister in all these Parts;
 and one of the best in all kinds that I have
 met with) told me yesterday in private
 Conference; *Que la chose est trop forte*; and
 that it had already encreased the Jealousy
 of *Amsterdam* so much, that they had gi-
 ven their Opinion the very next day (af-
 ter Mr. *Hyde's* Proposition) to Ratify the
 Treaty with *France*. That the King had
 reason in his Opinion, to say, the Case of
 our Treaty was fallen; and that if the
 States were as desirous to continue the War,
 as his Majesty seemed now to go into it,

they

they might make the *French* Proceedings in this Matter a very just Occasion, as not having performed the Intentions of our Treaty. But that there was no thought of bringing them into the War upon a *Cibicane* about Words, whether the *French* Declaration were in Form, or their Promise in Writing. That besides, there were many who wished well to the Thing; but did not know what to make of this *Bou-tade* in *England*, and had no Confidence in it; since what *Van Beuninghen* and others had written the Post before, about his Majesty's being pleased with the Treaty; and so far, that he, the Marquis, saw a Letter out of *England* by that very Post; which said, the King was so much satisfied with it, that he was upon the Point of disowning *Sir L. Jenkins* and me, for having refused to Sign the Treaty. That for his part, he looked upon all as desperate: That *France* would *faire quelque grand coup en Allemagne* these two Months, and after the *Germans* should retire into Winter Quarters, would come back with all their Forces in *Flanders*, and master it, in case the Towns should not be evacuated before that time; which they would endeavour by all the Delays towards *Spain*; and all the Artifices possible towards this State. That whatever came of it, he found, his

Master the Emperor was absolutely resolved never to separate himself from the Princes of the Empire in the Course of the Treaty ; but leave the Event to God Almighty.

Last night late, the Prince told me, that he hoped to have the Majority of Voices very considerably in this Province, and the other Provinces entirely ; for not Ratifying their Treaty till *Spain* had Signed. That for his part, he would endeavour all he could, that they might not do it till *Spain* should be ready to Ratify at the same time : But that he could have no hopes of carrying it any farther, unless *France* should refuse to conclude with *Spain* upon the Propositions they had offered at *Nimeguen* ; and which *Spain* had accepted. That if they could by his Majesty's Firmness secure the Towns in the *Spaniards* Hands, and thereby for the present save *Flanders* : All that he saw to be done, was to press the whole Business on towards a general Peace ; since without it, after this State and *Spain* were out of the War, he did not see what could hinder *France* from taking *Treves*, *Cologne*, *Ments*, and *Strasbourg* ; though they should not invade *Cleves* and *Juliers* presently : And that after they had mastered the *Rhine*, they would

would soon do the same by this Country and *Flanders*.

This morning I heard, that five of the greatest Towns in *Holland* next *Amsterdam*, and three of the chief of *North-Holland*, as well as the Nobles ; were certainly fixed in not Ratifying their Treaty without *Spain* : And that some of them were resolved to fall Personally upon Monsieur *Valkener* ; who had absolutely governed *Amsterdam* in the Opinion they had taken, and with whom Monsieur *Van Lewen* had a sharp and Personal Brush the last day the States of *Holland* were Assembled. How late they may sit to day, I know not ; but hope I may before the Closure of this Pacquet give your Lordship some Account how the Debate runs, though I do not expect this Sitting should end it.

Having given your Lordship such a particular Account of those Persons Thoughts upon it, which I esteem most considerable here, and who are least likely to be deceived. I shall not add any Judgment of my own, which ends but in one Point I mentioned in my last to your Lordship : That all Instructions his Majesty can give to any Man here, ought to be executed, (and directed to be so) in concert with the Prince, in case his Judgment upon them

were not had before : And Mr. Hyde is most absolutely of this Opinion ; and wishes often, that such a Clause had been in his, in case he should find the Prince here : For want of it he has been engaged to put his Instructions already, farther than he thought the Thing would well bear ; and is in great pain what to do upon the last Point of them, about his Majesty's Resolution to recall his Troops, in case the States fall not into his Majesty's present Mind upon the Treaty ; which the Prince and Pensioner hitherto are of Opinion, would be a most Destructive Pace to the whole Business.

I am ever with equal Passion and Truth

My L O D R,

Your, &c.

To
To

To the Prince Elector PALATINE.

Wagta, Septem. 8th. S. N. 1578.

May it please Your Highness,

I Received some time since the Honour of a Letter from Your Highness, of *July 29th*, by the Conveyance of my Lord Ambassador *Jenkins*, and should not have failed immediately to make that Return which became me in the Acknowledgments of it, if it had found me in my station at *Nimwegen*, as your Highness intended. But being divided between these two Ambassies, and finding the Duties of them sometimes different, I cannot pretend to charge my self with any parts of my Function as a Mediator there, while I find my self engaged in another sort of Figure during my Abode here. Besides, I was willing to see what Paces his Majesty might think fit to make or decline in the Business of a General Peace, before I gave my self the Honour of entertaining your Highness upon the share you are like to have in it. But since the King has thought fit to pro-

pose a Cessation of Six Months in order to-
 wards it : I shall presume to tell your High-
 ness my Opinion freely upon those Two
 Points, wherein *Monsieur Spanheim* told me
 you were pleased chiefly to concern your
 self. For the first, about *Philipsburg*, I do
 not see how a Peace between *France* and
 the Empire can be pursued upon any other
 Foot than what your Highness proposes to
 your self in that Matter ; so that I believe a
 General Necessity will therein serve to ad-
 vance and to effect a particular Interest
 which your Highness lays so much to heart,
 and with so much Reason. For the other
 Pretension of Relief and Reparation of the
 great Damages your Highness has suffered
 by the War ; since your Highness intends
 (and I think prudently) to insist no farther
 upon it, than by engaging his Majesty's
 Offices and Instances towards *France* ; I
 think your Highness will do better to pro-
 cure them immediately by your Minister
 at *London*, to be transmitted from Court
 to the King's Ambassador at *Paris*, with
 Orders to pursue and value them there, as
 a particular and Domestick Concernment
 which his Majesty takes in your Highness's
 Interests, rather than trust to their being
 handed over to the King's Ambassadors
 Mediators at *Nimegaen*, perhaps in a
 Group

Croud of many other Princes Pretensions, which may all be recommended in his Majesty's Name, and by his Ministers there, but not with that Earnestness and Distinction, which I should be glad the Crown of *England* would express upon all Occasions, in what concerns your Highness or your Family.

I beg your Highness's Pardon for so long an Interruption, and your Belief of my being ever with great Devotion and Truth,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Sept. 20th. S: N. 1678.

My LORD,

Your Lordship will have found by my Last to Mr. Secretary *Willemsen*, what the great Affair here was like to end in; and by Mr. *Hyde's* this Ordinary, that it has absolutely taken that Ply which was then designed by the Prince and Pensioner, and approved by *Monsieur de Lyra* as all that could be wish'd; or at least, that they could propose to themselves after the Course it has run for these Two or Three Months past. The Circumstances with which it was concluded yesterday may be worth his Majesty's Knowledge; and therefore I thought fit to trouble your Lordship with them: When it was proposed in the Form I mentioned in my Last, the Town of *Amsterdam* opposed it, and said absolutely, they had no Orders from their Principals farther than barely to ratify the Treaty, without other Circumstances or Conditions. That for any Security could be proposed to the *Spaniards* in their Treaty, or afterwards, for *Flanders*, it was provided for

for sufficiently in the Article between his Majesty and this State concerning a *Guarantee* to be given by them jointly for the Peace between *France* and *Spain*.

In this Proposition the Town of *Amsterdam* (which used ever to have One or Two of the great Towns in close Intelligence with them, and Two or Three of the small ones in a servile Dependance) had now the ill luck not to be seconded by any one Town of the whole Province of *Holland*: But all of them run down the Deputies of that Town with such Violence, and particular Resentment against their Conduct in the whole course of this Negotiation, that they suffered the Thing to pass without any farther Debate or Opposition, and to be drawn up with all the strength that the Prince could desire, both as to the *Dutch* Ambassadors declaring to the *French* at *Nimwegen* upon delivering the Ratifications, that it was done upon this Condition; That the Treaty likewise with *Spain* should be ratified by the Time limited, and afterwards duly executed; or else that the Treaty should be wholly void: And also to the States declaring to his Majesty, that in default of such Performance, the late Treaty between his Majesty and this State should take effect; and, *le cas du traité seroit tenu pour échu.*

In

In the whole course of this Affair, which held in the States of *Holland* from Three yesterday Afternoon till Six, and afterwards passed in the States General, all the Towns of *Holland* except *Amsterdam*, as well as all the other Provinces, declared in all their whole Discourses upon this whole Subject, that they owed the Peace and Restitution of the Towns, and the saving of *Flanders*, wholly to his Majesty. That, without the last Treaty, they saw plainly, *France* would have yielded to no Terms with *Spain*, nor have made good their own Offers in several Points to this State. That nothing but a firm Union of this State with *England* could make any stop against the Ambition and Greatness of *France*; and therefore, that they must ever stick firm to the Alliance with the Crown of *England*, and look upon it as their *Salvator*; which was the Word that run among them. And the Prince himself told me, That he never saw such a Firmness generally among them, as was upon this Point; nor such a Confusion and Silence as that of the Deputies of *Amsterdam* upon it.

After this was done, the Nobles of *Holland* being the first Member of the Province, taking occasion from a Protest which the Town of *Amsterdam* had put in some Days since, against those which intended to difficult

ficult or delay the Ratification with *France*, brought in formally a Counterprotest against the Town of *Amsterdam*, ripping up their whole Conduct in the course of this Affair, laying this Peace at their Doors, and the ruinous Consequence of it to the present Trade of these Countries, as well as to the Interest of this State and the Princes their Neighbours and Allies; especially upon the Points of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*; and protesting the Town of *Amsterdam* to be answerable for all the Mischiefs that could any way come upon this State by reason of such an unsafe and infamous Peace.

Upon the reading of it Monsieur *Valkener* turned Pale as a Clout, so as every body took notice of it; and after it was read, the Deputies of that Town all confest, that the Nobles had Reason in all they alledged, and that they had only one Thing to say for themselves, which was the Plea of Necessity; having been of Opinion, it was impossible for the State to support the War any longer.

Thus your Lordship will find how true a Measure I gave his Majesty of this Country upon my last return from *Nimeguen* after *de Cros's* Errand, both as to what Effect his Majesty's steddiness and firmness would have in advancing the Prince's Credit and Interest, and devolving the whole dependence

dance of this State upon his Majesty ; and likewise as to what Effect every loose Pace we made with them would certainly have in throwing them wholly upon *France*, even in spite of all the Prince should be able to do in restraining them. I will only add now my own Opinion as to what will follow the Peace ; which is, That whereas it has been the general Thought, that the Prince's Authority was kept up by the War, and would decline upon the Peace, I believe quite the contrary, and that it will very much increase upon the Peace it self, because every body will see by the course of Affairs afterwards, that the Prince was all this while in the True Interests of the Country ; and that those who advanced such a Peace as this, were certainly out of it, either upon Faction, or Corruption, or want of good Sense : And by what I hear of the Town of *Amsterdam* themselves, I believe these Two or Three Men that have led Them in this Course, will certainly come in a little time to lose their Credit : And I have some Reason to think Monsieur *Valkener* would already be glad to compound for that. I cannot but add one Word which passed last Night between the Prince and me upon this occasion ; which was, That I had not known a Bolder Action of one that was counted a Timorous Man, than this of *Valkener*, to set himself

himself up at the head of a Party here in opposition to his Highness; not only in regard of his Authority in the State, or his appuy from *England*, but chiefly in regard of, his Highness being so absolute in the Interests of the Country: For otherwise I should not think it a Bold Thing, if *Walkener* were in it, and his Highness out of it. Upon which, the Prince replied, No: But on the contrary it would be a bold Thing for me to be out of it; and those that have been so, you will see ruined even by the Peace they have promoted.

In short, his Majesty's Firmness, and the Prince's saving of *Mans*, have brought the Thing to this head, and left his Highness in the Posture he stands. It will, I doubt not, continue while his Majesty is firm and steady in his present Measures; and *France* is so sensible of the ill Pace they have made in the first Difficulty about evacuating the Towns, that the several Ministers of that Crown make it their business to clear themselves of it; since they find it will not pass here, to throw it upon the *Swedes*; but I do not see how they can ever recover the Trust they have lost by it in this Country, nor the Credit of their Party here.

Your Lordship will find in Mr. *Hyde's* Letter, two Points upon which the Prince desired us to write this Ordinary; One about the

the satisfaction of his Debts from *Spain*; by the Cession of *Maeſtricht*: The other about the Princess's Portion. The Introduction he gave them was, That now he saw all Publick Business draw to an end here, he would begin to think of his own.

Upon the First, I having seen his Highness since Mr. *Hyde*, I advised a Turn in it which he approved of; That was, not to pretend absolutely a Cession of *Maeſtricht* and *Limburg* at present, but only that *Spain* should leave them in the hands of the Prince; till they found out a way of acquitting his Debts; the Difficulties whereof will in all appearance put them upon this Expedient themselves: This I offered because I knew *Monsieur de Lyra* had seemed much surpriz'd and shock'd at this Proposition this Morning from the Pensioner; tho' I have Reason to believe, they are not unprepared for it at *Madrid*. The Prince desires the Orders his Majesty sends to his several Ambassadors upon this Subject may run in that Form.

For the other about the Portion, he desires his Majesty will either pay it by the Proportions of Times agreed on, or else by setting apart such a Summ of the Monthly Tax given by the Parliament, and including this Portion as will make the Payment within the Time agreed on, which

is;

is, I think about 4000 *l.* per Month, there being one of the Two Years already past.

Your Lordship will have observed in my last Letter to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, the Mention of one I had received from the King to the States and my self, about Two Shipstaken Three Years since by a *Zealand Caper*.

The Letters came thro' Mr. Secretary *Williamson's* Office; but in such a Style as Mr. *Hyde* and I were equally amazed, considering the Game that was playing here, whether this State should take their Measures with *England* or with *France*; so we both resolv'd it should first be shewed the Prince. The Matter was of it self in a way of being dispatch'd, and not in all above the value of Two or Three Thousand Pounds; and coming without any Line from the Secretary himself, we took them to be Things of Form, and procur'd only by the solicitation of the Parties, and without any Reflections of his Majestys. When I shewed it the Prince, he said, That he hop'd I consider'd the King's Service here, more than to deliver such a Letter; That he was sure the King never saw it; That it was a Letter to have been writ in 1671, when the King was resolv'd to quarrel with this State, and not now when he was fallen into Measures with them. Nay, he was confident,

Mr. Secretary had taken the Draught of the Letters that were written then, and had only chang'd the Names. That the States would certainly interpret it, That his Majesty had resolv'd still to quarrel with *Them*, and had taken his Measures again with *France*, which would make them try to do so too : That in all the Dispositions of that King here, *Zealand* had still been most inclin'd to *England*, with whom this Breach is threatned to begin : For, entring into it with the Admiralty there, was, in effect, with the whole Province. In short, he said, it would be absolutely necessary to suppress the Letter, till I had farther Orders, but that he would undertake this Business should certainly be done.

I send your Lordship a Copy of the Letter which was directed to me, or the *Secretary* of the Embassy here in my Absence; so that if I had not been upon the Place, he had certainly delivered it the next Morning. And, which the Prince thought very hard too, a Copy of the Letter was given to the Persons that sollicite it here, so that I was fain to desire them to keep it up to themselves, till they found whether I could do their Business or no without it. This puts me in mind of repeating again what I writ to your Lordship upon my last Return from *Nimeguen*, of the Necessity there would
be

be, while his Majesty continues his Measures here as they are, for his Ministers to act upon concert with his Highness ; at least, till they had made a Representation to his Majesty upon their Orders, of such Consequences as could not be, or were not foreseen in *England* when they were issued. I told the Prince at his Return from the Campaign, the first time Mr. *Hyde* and I attended him, That I had written to your Lordship upon this Subject, and what you had returned of the Commission the King had given you, to assure his Highness of his Majesty's Resolution in it. The Prince said to us both upon it; That the Truth was, if his Majesty considered him as perfectly in his own Interests, it ought to be so ; and that the Prince ought to be the King's Ambassador here ; and in that Case he should be able to serve his Majesty : Which were just his Words ; and I thought fit to let your Lordship know them : Because notwithstanding what you were pleased to say, I neither observe any such Directions to me since, either in general, or in this Particular ; nor any to Mr. *Hyde* at his coming away ; tho' he brought an Instruction with him, which would absolutely have spoiled the King's Business here, if at the Prince's Desire he had not suppress'd it. And 'tis a very hard case for an Ambassador either

to hinder his Master's Service (perhaps ruin it). or else by suppressing an Order, to lie under the Lash of a Secretary, who perhaps would be pleased with making others smart for his own Faults.

There is a Paper lately sent over to be presented his Majesty from the *Lunenburg* Ministers at *Nimeguen*, about a Difficulty they have met with in seeing Sir *L. Jenkins*, though they pretend to have satisfied the Forms his Majesty requires as to the Competition with the Emperor. All I shall say upon it is, that Sir *L. Jenkins* is bound up by such strict Orders in these Points, that I do not see how he can possibly with them perform the part of a Mediator; being absolutely bound up already from seeing one of the *Spanish*, *Danish*, and *Dutch* Ambassies, and now these of *Lunenburg*, so much as in Third Places, or ordinary Conversation or Business. To either of which I never understood how such Orders should be tied, or why That should go any farther than the Business or Visits of Ceremony.

I ask your Lordship's Pardon for the Length of this Trouble, which was intended only to give you such Lights as I thought might be necessary, and you

would

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would not perhaps receive from any other
Hand.

I am ever,

My LORD,

Tour, &c.

To the Duke of ORMOND.

Hague, Sept. 23d. S. N. 1678.

My LORD,

Since my Last to your Grace, nothing
hath passed here but what you will
have foreseen, which ended with Mr. *Hyde's*
Proposition from his Majesty. The States
excused themselves from any formal An-
swer to it for some time, not knowing how
the Difficulties between *France* and *Spain*
were like to determine. The *French* Am-
bassadors at *Nimeguen* seemed peremptory
in their Demands; especially of *Beaumont*,
and the *Châtelaine* of *Aeth*; but at length
submitted themselves to the Arbitrage of
this State, as the *Spaniards* had done to his
Majesty and them. *Monsieur d' Avaux* came

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post

post either from *Nimeguen* to support his Mother's Right upon this Arbitrage, which was to be dispatch'd in five Days, so as to make way for signing the Peace with *Spain*, before the last Day left for the Ratifications with this State, which was the 21st current. But before he had been Two Days here, a Courier came to him with News, that the King of *France* had generously remitted both Points to the *Spaniards* without any Arbitrage, so as the Peace was to be signed on *Saturday* last the 17th. This was done, and the States on *Monday* resolved to exchange their Ratifications with *France*; but at the same time to declare, that it was upon condition of their performing the Treaty with *Spain*; if not, this between them and *France* to be void, Before this, they resolved likewise to give Mr. *Hyde* and me their formal Answer to his Majesty's last Proposition; that tho' *France* had signed the Treaty with *Spain*, and theirs with *France* would thereupon be ratified, yet they had declared to his Majesty, it was with this Resolution; That if *France* either refused to ratify their Treaty with *Spain*, or to perform afterwards the Conditions of it, this State should hold, *le cas du dernier traité avec sa Majesté pour échû*; and should be ready to perform the Condition of it.

This

This was all the Prince himself proposed to bring it to here, since the Game had gone too far to be recovered in any other manner, and the Town of *Amsterdam* was against this it self,

Upon the exchange of Ratifications made at *Nimeguen* between *France* and this State on *Wednesday*, in pursuance of this Answer from the States; *Mr. Hyde* embark'd yesterday Morning for *England*, and with him my Lord *Ossory*, resolved to see your Grace in *Ireland*, before any Thoughts of returning hither. All that is now left to be done, is to enter into *Guarantees* with this State, for what remains of *Flanders*; and to try if the Progress of *France* upon the *Rhine* may be prevented by any steps towards a general Peace: The first whereof, and which the Prince is much concerned in, has been made already by his Majesty's Proposition at *Nimeguen* for a general suspension of Arms, which *France* yet refuses to come to upon the Score of *Sweden*, as they give out; but, as others believe, upon their own.

I am,

My LORD,

Your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Octob. 7th. 1678. S. N.

My LORD,

BY my Letter this Ordinary to Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, your Lordship will find an Account of my late Journey to *Amsterdam* and to the Prince at *Hoogboorn*; about 24 Leagues from this Place, with one part of the Errand that occasioned it, and the Success of it. There were Two other Occasions which led me to it, that I thought not fit to mention in a Letter which must pass so many Eyes; reserving them for your self, and by your means for his Majesty, and Royal Highness; since one of them had its Rise in private confidence from the Prince; and the other from your Lordship's last Letter; wherein you seemed so desirous of knowing his Opinion upon Two Points of great consequence, which I thought it necessary you should be satisfied in by the First, without attending the Prince's Return, which was like to draw out into some length.

Upon

Upon his Highness leaving the Town last, he very earnestly recommended to me the making a Journey to *Amsterdam*; not only for discovering their Minds there as to the Point of the Guarantee, of which I have given Mr. Secretary an Account; but likewise as to the manner they are like to live with the Prince hereafter, now the Peace is made; since their Carriage in the late Debate here about *Maastricht*, gave the Prince a Suspicion, that they were resolved to do it declaredly upon all Occasions, against his Opinion and Interests; however United with the Sense of the other Provinces, and even the rest of the Towns in this. At least, he believed, Monsieur *Valkener* would act that Part. But that his Highness might the better take his Measures, he desired to have some certain Light, both as to his particular Resolutions, and how he was likely to be seconded in them by Monsieur *Hoeft*; that is, how far supported, or where deserted in them. For the Town of *Amsterdam* is absolutely Governed by these two Men; without any other Person so much as pretending at present any share in it. I have had long Discourses with them both, and not only together but separately; and as the Prince thinks, very much to the Advantage of his Affairs and Service here.

Monsieur

Monsieur Valkener who is a very Thoughtful, Designing, and Covered Man ; yet went so far with me, as to say plainly at last ; That for his part, he should ever shew as much Respect to his Highness's Person and Interests as any Man in the Country, while he kept within the establish'd Constitutions of the State ; but if upon any Occasion he should offer to go beyond them, he must oppose it as far as he could ; and believed not only that his Town would do so too, but that they would be applauded in it by the other Towns of this Province ; who might yet in the States upon other Respects give Opinions different from them. That there were two different sorts of People for the Prince to make use of here : One, that were fit to follow him at Court, in his Hunting, and Entertainments : Another that were fit for the Magistracy of this Country, and had generally a Reputation not only of good Patriots ; but of Men of Ability and Honesty, and such as the People generally were content to trust : That he needed not Name any such Men ; the Prince could not fail of knowing them ; For if he did not by his own observing, common Fame would tell him who they were in every Town. And, that if the Prince would have all go easy and unanimous

inous here; he must, when he had any thing to propose in the States, first send for some of these Men from the several Towns, and discourse it with them apart: If he found they agreed in Opinion about it; he might reckon the thing would certainly and easily pass in the States: If they differed, he should then send for them to talk it over with them together; and tell them, he found they were of several Minds, and therefore he desired they would reason it with one another before him; which would produce an Agreement one way or other among them, as well as the Debates here in the States had in a manner ever done: And accordingly his Highness might take his certain Measures.

Monseigneur *Hæft*, who is a much franker Man, and of greater Credit, tho' less Opinion than the other, went farther with me: For, after some things of the same kind, about the Prince's consulting with Persons trusted and esteemed in their Towns; taking his Measures previously with those of *Amsterdam* as well as other Towns, which were publickly known to be at his Devotion; not confining his Conversation to very few Persons and of another sort, nor the Consultations of Business to any one or two Men alone. He ended with me at last in this Conclusion; That nothing

nothing was so necessary here, as a perfect Union between the Prince and States; and the taking away all Appearance of the least Difference between them; which would but let *France* into the State, by Siding with one Party or other, and with either of them just as would serve their present Turn. That for his part, he was so sensible of this, and had such an opinion of the Prince, both as to his Moderation, and his Understanding his own Interest aright, to be perfectly joined with those of the Country: That notwithstanding all Jealousies which had unhappily been raised here, or might be so hereafter, perhaps industriously; he was absolutely resolved, he would trust the Prince till he should see him engaged in Courses against the Interests and Liberties of the State. That, in such a case, he should enter into the *bonne partie*, and oppose it according to his Duty: But that in the mean time, he would not go about to hurt both his Country and the Prince too, by encreasing any Difference between them, upon Suspicious or Jealousies that he did not see a plain Ground for.

As to particular Occasions of Difference between the Prince and States now after the Peace, he would not see any; unless it should happen about a second Reduction

of the Army, and to such a Proportion as might be maintained by the Ordinary Revenue of the Country. But when I told him, the Time of proposing this was chiefly considerable ; whether before they should see the general Peace made, or *France* likewise begin to disarm : And upon this it self, they ought to debate the whole Thing privately with the Prince of *Orange* before they brought it into the States ; He told me, he thought I had Reason, and he should be of that Mind : And ended with saying many things of the greatest esteem that could be of the Prince, and very much Kindness to his Person and Interests : Desiring me to give his Highness the assurance of it,

Upon my report of all this to the Prince, he seemed to be extreamly pleased with it ; and said, I had made a Journey to mighty good purpose : And he should make so good use of it, that he doubted not, to be able to give a good Account of this Country, as to what should be their Part in the general Concerns of *Christendom*, provided his Majesty would be but *Steady* in the pursuit of his Measures here.

After this I shewed him your Lordship's Letter, desiring to know his Opinion about his Majesty's reconciling with *France* in something about *Sweden* ; and entring
into

into Measures with them in behalf of the Crown; and likewise about a Match with that King to Lady *Anne*; in case it should be pursued. The Prince read it twice over and very thoughtfully: And after some Pause, said that he could not tell on the sudden, what to think of this Letter. That upon his first reading of those Lines about reconciling with *France* in something of *Sweden*; he was as much amazed as the *Swag* was that day at the first Blow that was given him. That he had no reason to believe by the last Letters he received from the Duke or from your Lordship, that there was any Change in our Councils in *England*, from the late Measures we had taken, of preserving *Europe* from the Design of *France* upon it. That, yet he could not imagine, how any Body should think we could reconcile with *France* for restoring *Sweden*; without breaking all the Measures we had lately taken, and returning absolutely into our former ones with *France*. That this was certainly an Artifice of the *French*, who saw they could not close with us directly upon any thing between ourselves; and so they would ground it upon the Business of *Sweden*; which would be in effect the same thing, and bring the Business of *Europe* just where it was four or five years ago. That *Sweden* made no

Page,

Pace, nor used no Language but as they were directed by *France*; and so he was sure they were in this. That the Effect of any such Agreement between us and *France*, would be, the King's wholly losing all his Credit not only with the Empire and *Spain*, as returning into the *French* Interests, by embracing those of *Sweden*, which were wholly joined with them; but it would likewise shake it here too, and make them return to the Opinion they have so long had in this Country; that the King would never heartily break from *France*: And that the Effect of this would be, to make the States run into the Interests of that Crown; as a thing which must befall them, and without Remedy. And that nothing could be more ruinous than this to the Affairs of his Majesty here; nor to those particularly of his Highness. That upon any Measures which could be taken between his Majesty and *France* for the restoring *Sweden*: The first Action on the *French* side must be the Invading *Cleve* and *Wesel*, and the rest of the Duke of *Brandenburgh's* Territories adjoining; which will not only let in the *French* into the Empire on that Side, but make them in as great a Measure Masters of this Country (of which *Cleves* and *Jaliers* have ever been esteemed the very Key) as they

they could have been by their Conquest in *Flanders*. And that his Highness do not apprehend how his Majesty can take part in such an Action ; and which may have Consequences so directly opposite to all the Measures he has lately taken, as to the Offers he has made this State about the security of *Cleves* and *Faliers*. That as far as his Highness understands ; his Majesty's Interests, and that of the Crown of *England*, are, after the Peace to enter into such Measures with this State, the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, as may preserve *Flanders*, and keep *France* from overturning the World any farther : To live fairly with *France*, but to enter into no new Measures with them : So that upon any ill Talent of *France*, about what his Majesty has already done in the saving *Flanders* ; he may have the Empire ready to fall into his Interests, as he has this State already engaged by a defensive League in case of *France's* attacking us. And for *Sweden*, he does not see how his Majesty can go farther than to induce them first to a Suspension of Arms, and afterwards to some reasonable Terms in a Peace.

That, for the Match between that King and Lady *Anne* ; his Highness knows nothing against it, if the King and Duke think it fit ; unless it be the Time of either doing

doing or treating it ; which he believes cannot be before the general Peace is made ; because it will otherwise have those Effects before mentioned, especially if accompanied by Engagements with *France* ; unless it should be treated upon the foot of *Sweden*'s consenting to such Terms of a Peace, as the Confederates should be likely to fall in with.

This was the Substance of the several and large Discourses which his Highness made me upon this Occasion, and with much Concernment ; desiring me to represent them to your Lordship at large, as he would write in short his Thoughts to you upon them by this Post.

After this he took notice of the Passage in your Lordship's Letter, about the King intending to command my Return in a short time : And said upon it, that it could not be fit at the present ; but that he would talk with me about the Time of it after the Evacuation of the Places in *Flanders*, and the Treaty of Guarantee here should be finished : Which being the first Steps after the Peace ; would be of the greatest Importance ; and declare the Intention of this State, as to their Measures hereafter with *England* and with *France*. That whenever I left this Post, it would be absolutely necessary for his Majesty to have an Ambassa-

dor here, and not a less Character ; since
 the *French* were resolved ever to have one,
 and that it would extremely import his
 Highness, what sort of Person be sent over :
 For unless it should be one that might live
 in Confidence with him, and have Credit
 in the Country here ; were better have
 none at all.

I am, &c,

To the Duke of YORK

Hague, Decb. 11th. S. N. 1678.

May it please Your Highness,

I Received yesterday morning by Mr.
White, the Honour of a Letter from
 your Highness, with a Command which it
 will be very Difficult to perform here : I
 mean, that of helping her Highness to be
 incognito in this place. The Prince be-
 ing yet absent, and the Pensioner too ; I
 spoke of it to Monsieur *Van Lewen* ; who
 was hard to be persuaded, that the Honours
 due to her Highness by the States upon
 such Occasion, should not be performed so-
 lemnly at her landing. But having acquaint-
 ed

ted him with the absoluteness of your Highness's Commands, both by your Letter, and particularly by Mr. *White*: I prevailed with him to make no mention of it in the States, till the Prince's Return: And this I hope may be to night, or to morrow at farthest.

For a House to receive her Highness and Lady *Anne* with their Attendance, there was no Choice at all in it. And so the Princess Dowager's House is making ready for this purpose; and will, I doubt not, be in order by to morrow. I could not persuade Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* and Mr. *White* to allow me any other Part in this Care, besides leaving the whole House empty; which I did early this morning, and them with the Prince's Servants in all the Diligence that could be, of preparing it for her Highness's Reception; who besides the Honour of such a piece of Gallantry, will have certainly a very great Satisfaction in seeing here such a Princess, as in all kinds I do believe is very hard to be seen any where else. I wish the Weather but as fair as the Wind, and then I hope this Adventure will be very soon and very happily atchieved.

I beg your Highness's Leave upon this Occasion, to give you an account of another Command, I received from your High-

ness at my coming away : Which was, to speak at large to the Prince about some Particulars in his way of living and conversing here, that your Highness thought of great Consequence to his Affairs in this Country. I did not find an Opportunity that made way for it till now of late, since Matters here seemed to fix a little upon the Conclusion of the Peace with Spain, which gave his Highness occasion of Discoursing with me several times upon this new Scene of Affairs ; and employing my Offices to discover how the Town of *Amsterdam* was like to live with him after the Peace. I gave my Lord Treasurer by last Post a large Account of what had passed between me and the two ruling *Burgomasters* there upon this Subject : And shall now only add to it ; that having represented all that Matter to the Prince at *Hoogwerre*, and upon that Occasion, the whole Scope of your Highness's Thoughts; he seemed extremely satisfied with both : And assured me, that as there were many Applications which might be made in a time of Peace, and could not, while his Thoughts were wholly taken up with the War ; so he should not now neglect them, tho' he might hitherto have done it. That he should fall into a new *Phye* ; and that he doubted not, to give a good Account of

of this State in all the publick Concernments of *Christendom*, if his Majesty could resolve to be *Steady* in the Measures he had fallen into of late.

I should not have given your Highness so long a Trouble, but that I thought you would not be displeased with the Knowledge of this Particular; and in it, my Obedience to that Command of your Highness, of writing without Ceremony. I am very confident you will believe it to be without any at all; when I assure your Highness of my being ever with the greatest Passion and Truth that can be,

S I R,

Your Highness's &c.

L 1 3

To

To my Lord Treasurer.

Hdgts, Decemb. 6th. S. N. 1676.

My LORD,

I Was so infinitely obliged by the Kindness and Confidence of a Letter, I had this day the honour of receiv^{ing} from your Lordship by Mr. *Hales* ; that I could not delay the acknowledging of it by this Post ; tho', to do that as I ought, will, I doubt, be as hard as to deserve it. And I fear, to interrupt your Lordship at a time so busy as this, will be a greater Fault than any Omission would have been. I had not before any true Prospect of the present Scene : And tho' your Lordship has given me so much Light, yet it serves rather to represent the Sadness of it, than to discover any Remedy to such fatal Distempers as have been long breeding ; and are now so violently broken out in our poor unfortunate Nation. God alone can be the Physician, who governs the Hearts of Princes, and the Humours of People ; For, to think of Advice from any other, in so many cross Accidents both at home and abroad as meet to make up this violent

Crisis,

Crisis, is too great a Compliment to put upon any Man; And if your Lordship could hope for it, in my Opinion, it ought to be from your self, who have best been able to observe the Spring and Growth of this Distemper, with the Dispositions of the Body; and by that, as well as by your own natural Prudence, must be fitter than any other Person to make a Judgment upon it. For my own part, it would be more Presumption in me than in any Man to offer at it, upon many Regards: Besides that of the Distance I am at, and have been so long and so often for a great part of my Life. Nor do I know one Quality to make me fit for it, unless it be, not only as near and as sensible, but as unpassioned and as uninteressed Concernment in the true good and Service of my Master and my Country, as any Man can have. And for this Reason, and because your Lordship hath asked many times to ask me so kindly, and hear me so favourably upon smaller Occasions; and because I take you to be equally concerned with the Publick in this: It shall go hard but I will find a way of telling your Lordship by some Hand or other, and in very few Words; all that I have been able to think upon it: Which can do no Hurt, because you may forget it as soon as 'tis done.

For any Accounts of Foreign Affairs, which your Lordship might have expected if I had come over : The whole Course of my Dispatches since I left *England* last, will better inform any body than I my self could do ; as having been constant and particular, and thereby containing many things I have forgot. For the Question you are pleas'd to ask about the Peace ; I cannot add one Word to that short Account your Lordship will meet with in my Letter this Post, to Sir *Joseph Williamson* ; unless it be, that nothing seems to me at present so necessary in the Foreign Affairs ; as for his Majesty to dispatch away some Minister to *Spain*, whose chief Instruction should be, to watch any Motion of Councils or Negotiations there for the Exchange of *Flanders* : To divert them from any such Thoughts by the greatest Assurance of his Majesty's resolving to take it into his constant Care and Protection : And so to represent the State of our present Disorders themselves, as not to dishearten that Court in the hopes, that his Majesty may yet be able to perform effectually what he intends and promises in that Matter. I think the Dispatch of this so much the more necessary, because I doubt, the present Minister there may, in this Conjunction be a very ill Instrument in such an Affair ; and be possibly inclined

to promote other Ends in what concerneth that very Business of *Flanders*, and any Exchange of it.

For Mr. *M*—— ; I have neither deserved such Offices your Lordship speaks of ; nor shall trouble my self about making such Returns. I am infinitely obliged to your Lordship for the Enquiries you say you will make ; and shall be very glad to know my Faults from my Enemies as well as my Friends : Because which way soever I find them, I shall make the same use ; that is, to mend them. I stand always upon the Ground of having never done either an unjust, or ungentlemanly Action in my Life, or an unfaithful one to the Service of my Master or my Country. And whoever may be persuaded otherwise of me, by Whisperers or Malice ; I shall leave to their own Opinions, till they please to make fair Enquiries ; And concern my self no farther in them nor the Consequences. Having I thank God, at heart ; neither Hopes to serve, nor Faults to answer for.

As to Sir *H--C--*. I should be very sorry to think he meant ill to the Crown or Kingdom ; because I always thought otherwise of him, and cannot reproach my self to have often been deceived by my Friends, and whenever I am ; believe I have not more reason to quarrel with them ; than
with

With my self for chusing them. For his
 Unkindness to me; I will as least be
 just, as I desire others to be to me; which
 is, to hear first what he saith of it, before
 I Judge. For any to your Lordship,
 shall not easily forgive; because I do not
 think you have deserved it upon any pub-
 lick Considerations, which are all that
 should lead him in his present Figure. But
 if your Lordship had not served his Ma-
 jesty, and the true Interests of his Crown
 with perfect good Intention to both; and
 the best of your Power; you have I am
 sure, deceived me; which few of my
 Friends, I confess, have done: And I am
 confident your Lordship will never be of
 the number.

I am,

My LORD,

Your, &c.

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To Sir Joseph Williamson.

Hague, Decem. 30. 1678. S. N.

S I R,

Since my Last of the 27th, I have none from you, the contrary Winds having now left Three Pacquets due from *England*. All the Towns of *Holland* have agreed to the Advice of the States General about deferring the Reform as I mentioned in my Last, except *Amsterdam* alone. What their Answer will prove at last I cannot yet tell, nor whether one man alone, as the Head of a single Town, will set up directly against all the other Towns of this Province, as well as against all the other Provinces; and in a Matter appearing to them of so great importance to the State. For tho' the Peace be made both by this State and *Spain*, and tho' the *French* have yet raised no Difficulties upon restoring the Towns to the *Spaniards*, yet they have declared, They intended to keep their Forces in *Flanders* till they are satisfied in what they demand as remaining due of their Contributions, which amounts to near two Hundred Thousand *Pistols*. And for this Country, tho' they have delivered up *Maestricht*,

eftricht, yet they have demanded *Land* and *Mafeyck*, by which it would be cut from the rest of these Territories, and this Week posted themselves between *Stricht* and *Hasselt* on one side, and *Stricht* and *Mafeyck* on the other ; so that neither Boat nor Waggon can go from these Provinces to *Maeftricht*, but must pass through their Quarters ; and that Town is not provided in any proportion of Cannon Magazines necessary for their defence. Besides, it is known here, that, the *French* Ministers and Officers lye ready to take their Service immediately all the Town

Mr. Secretary
Williamson.

which this State shall distrust, and the last Letters from the Ambassadors at *Paris*, gave the yet farther Apprehensions of the *Conduite* they are to expect from the *French*. For *Monsieur Boreel*, who is of *Amsterdam*, and was deep in the Cabal of promoting the Peace, writes plainly, That he expects nothing from that *Courte* upon any of the Pretensions, that they were grown so insolent with their Prosperity, and the ill Proportion of all their Neighbours, as not to trouble themselves with giving Reasons, or receiving them upon any Thing They treated. To this in general he writes Two Particulars that were something more surprising ; The First was, That *Monsieur Pompadour*

had told him, That the King his Master had ordered him to take notice of the Prince having turned out the *Catholick* Magistrates at *Maestricht*, and put in *Protestants* in their room, as a Thing contrary to his Treaty with this State. The Second, That *Monsieur de Louvois* had told him upon discourse of the remaining Contributions of *Breda*, that the King his Master had heard what the Prince of *Orange* had said to the States in the Deliberations upon that Matter. *Et le trouvoit mauvais & que le Prince avoit parlé trop fierement*. Upon the first Point, the States Deputies thought fit to discharge the Prince by taking upon themselves what he had only acted by their Orders, and to defend their having acted nothing contrary to the Treaty, or innovated any Thing in Matter of Religion at *Maestricht*; but that on the other side, the *French* had no right to concern themselves in what the States did in the Government of a town which was now become again their own. Upon the Second Point, which touched only the Prince, his Highness said, That tho' the States knew he had never spoke any Thing upon that Occasion, which might deserve that Term, yet he was of opinion no Answer should be made upon it; That he was born in a Free Republick, and that it had so continu'd hitherto. He could not tell how long

long it might do so, at the rate they were now treated, but that while he lived in it, he would, according to his Duty, give his Advice, and speak his Opinion freely in it, without giving account to any of what he said, but to God alone.

These Particulars have yet gone no farther than the Deputies of Foreign Affairs, and so you will please may not yet be publick; but they have occasioned very Melancholick Reflections among them, considering what a condition this Peace has already brought them into, and what farther Consequences they may expect of it, upon the unhappy Posture of Affairs in *England*, from whence alone they were to hope for support. You will guess, by your Dispatches this Post from *Nimegue*, at least, as well as we can hear what issue may be expected from the Parties beginning to enter into Conference there. For my part, I am able to make no conjecture, nor whether a Peace with the Emperor will contribute to the Safety, or increase the Danger of these Countries, and the *Spanish Netherlands*, if the *French Army* continue possessed of *Liege* and the other Parts necessary for their making War upon the Duke of *Brandeburg*, as they pretend in favour of the *Swedes*.

I am, ever, &c.

To

To Sir Loxael Jenkins.

Hague, Feb. 20th. S. N. 167¹

My LORD,

I Have this Morning your Letters of yesterday's Date, with the inclosed Papers, by which I am apt to conjecture, That the Peace between the Emperor and France is drawing towards a Period; and very probably by the last of this Month, being the Term last limited by France upon the present Conditions: I shall therefore prepare my self for my Journey towards you, and begin it when you find it necessary for me, *to assist at the signing of the Peace, and what other Acts shall necessarily require a Quorum of our Commission.* Which are the Words of the Order I received upon this Occasion in a Letter from Mr. Secretary Williamson, dated the 29th of October past.

Your Lordship I find apprehends whether you shall have notice given you by the Parties, of their concluding the Affair time enough to give me warning for my Journey; which with the other Complaints you make of the little Confidence you are in with them, makes me doubt whether their

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Intentions be, that we should sign or
 For by their own first Draught of the
 face, it was plain they did not intend
 And tho' your Lordship received Or
 upon that Point, *To make no Difficulty to*
as Mediators, in Mr. Secretary's Letter
 you of *October 29th*, and farther Order
 bout the Part his Majesty expected in
 Style of the Preface, by his Letter of
December 3d, yet I do not find by any of y
 Letters, that the Parties have either exp
 sed their Desire or Intention, that we sho
 sign as Mediators, or their assent to th
 your Lordship proposed as to his Maj
 Part in the Preface. I have other Reas
 to be a little doubtful how this Matter m
 pass, and one particularly this very Morn
 ing from *Monsieur d' Avaux*, having said in
 a Conference with the Deputies of this
 State upon Discourse of the Treaty; That
 the Parties now treating being of the same
 Religion, the whole Business was in the
 Nuncio's hands. I have likewise the Op
 nions of others here beside my own; That
 it would be to expose the King's honor too
 much, for me to go expressly upon the
 Place to sign the Treaty, and when I came
 there, not to be admitted to it. Therefore
 to clear all this Matter, I humbly offer to
 your Lordship, whether seeing the present
 Approaches between the Parties, you will
 not

not take occasion to let them know, That having formerly acquainted them with the Orders you had received, to be ready to sign the Treaty ; and with the Part his Majesty pretended in that Case to have in the Preface : And finding it necessary by our Commission, that Two of us should be present at the Act, you desire to know both their Intension upon it, and the time they are like to be ready ; to the end you may give me notice early enough not to fail attending that Service according to the Order you know I have received. They cannot, I suppose, make any scruple to give you a clear and plain Answer to such a reasonable Question ; and thereupon your Lordship's Measures and mine will be easily taken : For your Lordship, I know, will not fail of giving me Advice by the first ; and I shall not, God willing, fail of beginning my Journey accordingly. In case any thing should happen to make them sign of the sudden, without warning to either of us ; I suppose if they desire we should have our Parts in it, room may be left for the Mediators to sign afterwards ; since it is not a Thing material as to the force of the Treaty between the Parties. If they will understand it otherwise, I suppose it will be to avoid our Signing, in the civilest manner they can. For, upon the whole, the Judgment

ment which is here made of this Treaty, That neither of them like it: And tho is necessity alone which could have broug the Emperor to these Terms, yet *France* perfectly taken at their Word, and is sensible enough of the Advantages they are like to lose in not pursuing the War with the Emperor, now *Spain* and the Country are out of it.

I am ever, &c

Postscript.

I Desire, what I say of *Monsieur d' Amu* having told the Deputies this Morning, may not be taken notice of, because it was given me by one of them in Confidence.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague; Jan. 24th. S. N. 1679.

My LORD,

I Had the Honour of one from your Lordship of the 7th; and deferred not upon receipt thereof, to make that use of it here, which you intended; and was indeed in a manner necessary for his Majesty's Service and Justification as well as your Lordship's. I communicated the first part of it to some of the States who are in chief Credit here; and to the Imperial and *Spanish* Ministers, who all took notice of those Clauses in it; which shewed how great Advantages might have been made by bargaining for any Towns: How no Conditions were proposed but such as were approved by *Spain* and *Holland*; and how the Thoughts of making any Advantages of that it self, were entertained only at the Persuasion of Mr. *M---*. And in the several Conversations I have had upon this Subject here, I may assure your Lordship all was done with the success you desired. For the Prince, who was gone from *Utrecht* to *Arnheim*, about the Time I received your Lordship's Dispatch, I thought

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there

there could be no way so good of performing your Commands towards his Highness, as by sending him the Letter it self, by which he would best see how much you were concerned both in his good Opinion, and in his particular Affair of the Money due to him ; which I am sure could not have been by me so well expressed as in your Words. You will before this time have been fully satisfied by the Letter I sent you inclosed, how much the Prince was concerned in your part, of what lately happened in *England* ; and how little reason you had to apprehend any Change of his Highness's Opinion in what concerned your Lordship upon that Occasion. And I know very well he writ that Letter with kinder Intentions than only of making you a Compliment at that Time. For the Money, he never said one word of it to me in several Conversations about these Matters, farther than complaining of his own ill Luck, since he was sure to have received it within four or five days, at the time when that Trouble was given your Lordship there ; which he reckoned upon as what must certainly delay it, till some better Settlement in his Majesty's Affairs, and especially that of the Revenue.

Having acquitted my self of the Duty I owed your Lordship upon that first part of your Letter ; I find another I owe to his
Ma-

Majesty upon the latter ; of which I despair
 of being able to acquit my self as I ought to
 do, or as the sense of so great a Favour just-
 ly obliges me to. The Distinction his Ma-
 jesty is pleased to make between me and o-
 ther Men, both in esteeming me fit for the
 discharge of so great a Trust, and in offer-
 ing to be himself at the charge of Mr. *Secre-
 tary Coventry's* retiring out of it, is what I
 am sure, I shall never live to forget ; tho'
 I can never hope to deserve : and therefore
 must beg of your Lordship to assist me in
 making the heartiest and humblest Acknow-
 ledgments to his Majesty, that any Servant
 can make to the best Master in the World.
 After this is done, I am very sorry that I
 must make so True and Plain a Confession
 of my self as I am forced to do upon this
 Occasion. If I found my self capable of do-
 ing his Majesty the Service that would be-
 come me in such a Post, I should esteem it
 the greatest, and indeed the only happiness
 that could befall me at this Time, and in the
 poor Remainders of my Life. But the sen-
 sible Decays I feel of late in my self, and
 which must increase every Day with my
 Age and ill Health, make me absolutely de-
 spair of acquitting my self as I ought, and,
 would be necessary for his Majesty's Service-
 in a Post that requires not only great Abi-
 lities, but good Health, and all the Appli-

cation that can be ; neither of which I can
 any ways promise either his Majesty or my
 self. And I may pretend to be so honest a
 man, as never to make so ill a Bargain for
 so good a Master ; which would be like sel-
 ling him a Horse very dear, that I knew to
 be old and resty, and not at all fit for the
 Service he designed him. I beg your Lord-
 ship to represent this to his Majesty, not as
 an affected Modesty, nor as a Speaker's
 Form of disabling himself when he is cho-
 sen. For your Lordship may please to re-
 member, I writ the same Thing to you six
 Months ago : And Mr. *Hyde* knows very
 well the Thoughts on this kind he both
 found and lent me in at his last being here.
 The Season I have since passed in a Place so
 unkind to my Health, has given me a great
 deal of reason to continue them, and to think
 my self not at all fit to enter upon so great
 and laborious an Employment, or even to
 continue this longer than the Spring ; be-
 yond which Time I can foresee little use his
 Majesty can have of me here. And when-
 ever he shall please to end it, I doubt not
 but he will give me leave to seek for a little
 better Health in some warmer Climate ; and
 I am sure he shall never find a better Subject,
 how useless a Servant soever I may have
 been ; and that none shall ever make more
 passionate Wishes for his Happiness and
 Safety,

Safety, than I shall do all the days of my Life.

I cannot end this without making your Lordship likewise my particular Acknowledgments for your Favour and good Opinion, which I shall ever esteem among my best Possessions. But having had the Honour of your agreeing to often with me in what we have talked of, I cannot but be confident, that if you knew me as well as I do myself, you would be perfectly of my Mind in this Matter, as I should be of yours if I found my self indeed what Your Lordship is pleased to esteem me, That which I hope we both agree in is, the Belief that you can never meet with a greater and sincerer Passion than that wherewith I have been so long, and shall be

Tours, &c.

To Sir *Joseph Williamson*

Rhenen, Feb. 6th. 1694.

S I R,

UPon this day Sennight I received the *Hague* an Express from Sir *L. J. J. kins*, pressing me to come away immediately to *Nimeguen*, upon the assurance he had the Treaty would be signed there the next Day, and that my presence would be necessary to make up a Commission at that time. Whereupon finding my Orders express in that case, I parted the same day from the *Hague*, and made a shift to get to *Nimeguen* the next, being *Tuesday* a Night. The *Thursday* following I went to the Prince of *Orange* at *Arnhem*, upon a Letter from his Highness, and returned so late that Night, as to have no part in the Dispatch by that Ordinary, which was the 2d. I have mist since my last to you from the *Hague*. I communicated to his Highness the Orders I received by yours, of the 14th past, which came to me the day after my Arrival at *Nimeguen*. He was very ready to perform the part his Majesty expected from him upon that occasion, but said, I knew

knew very well he had never been able to hinder Libels and Pasquins from being Printed here against himself, and so could not assure me of hindring them against his Majesty, but that he would endeavour it, and hoped he might be able to do it at *Utrecht*, but advised me to address my self to the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, where he could not undertake for it. He took occasion to tell me, That the Pensioner of *Amsterdam* had been with him the day before, upon the election of the Schepers for this Year; That falling into the Discourse of the Affairs of *England*, he had told him, That the General Report and Belief at *Amsterdam* was, that the great Preparations made by *France* in their Sea-Ports, were to make the King Master of his Parliament; and that was the Reason we took no notice of them in *England*. I took this for a Libel spread here by the same hands from which you expected they should be sent and printed to be spread in *England*; but the Prince said, he had reason to believe it was given out by the *French*, to damp all hopes that this State might have of any support from *England*: And that he had received Two Letters upon the same Subject from *Amsterdam*, before the Pensioner of that Town had told him of it. I shall not need tell you of the Peace having been sign'd last Night

Night about 10 of the Clock, between the Emperor and France, and agreed so be it this Day between the Imperialists and Swedes; You will know the whole course of that Affair with all Circumstances, by an Express this day from my Colleague, and how unnecessary a Journey I have made in the worst Season that I ever felt, and upon pure obedience to the Orders you sent me: For I had no reason to think the Imperialists would yield a Point they had ever contested, and therefore I had desired my Colleague to inform himself of it before he sent for me. 'Tis now past, and I have only reason to be satisfied that all was agreed to by the Parties which you seem'd to desire for his Majesty's Honour in the Preface, as well as for his Inclination in the Treaty. This Morning I left Nimegue, and thought to have reach'd Utrecht this Night, but the Ways are almost impassable for a Coach by the great drifts of Snow; so that all I can hope for, is, to be there to morrow Night. From thence I resolve to go to Amsterdam, and speak with the Magistrates in both Places about searching and preventing what you apprehend from those Presses: And because I am not like to be in Holland time enough for next Ordinary, I dispatch this away to Utrecht by

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by Express, in hopes it may get time enough to the *Hague*, to go away with the Ordinary to morrow Night, that so you might know something of my Motions, as well as of my late Omissions, which have been occasioned by them.

I am ever, &c.

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, February 21st. S. N. 1678

My LORD,

HAVING since my last had several Occasions of discoursing with the Prince upon the Subject of your Lordship's last Letter; and the Account you were pleased to give there both of his Majesty's Conduct and your own, in those Negotiations which were so much talked on of late, his Highness was very full in his Expressions of justifying your Lordship upon having done nothing but with his Majesty's Order even in Writing; and could not talk of Mr. M---'s part in it, without the greatest Indignation in the World. For the Thing it self, he would say little, but that it was past, and so 'twas to no purpose to talk of it. That no body had any thing left to do since the Peace, but to play an ill Game the best they could, and so he resolved to do here; but nothing he could now do would signify much towards the Common Safety, unless *England* could grow into a Posture of being more united
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at home, and more considered abroad, than they seemed likely to be by the present Course of our Affairs, which he ever talks of with great Concernment. Since the Commission I received to go again to *Nimeguen*, to continue there the Figure of his Majesty's Mediation, upon the recalling of Sir *Lyonel Jenkins*; he was very inquisitive into the Reason of it; which I could not give him: Having received barely a Commission to act alone in that Function, and three Lines only from Mr. Secretary *Williamson*, to tell me, he had sent it by his Majesty's Order. All we could guess was the Design of sparing so much Money, by ending Mr. *Hyde's*, and Sir *Lyonel's* Ambassy, now the Peace was so near concluded; and continuing mine only for the Decency of the Mediation, till the Assembly should break up. And the Prince said upon it, That he hoped however, the King might make some good use of it; and since the Peace of the *North* would certainly be made, now the Emperors was so, he thought it would be very much better, that his Majesty should make it than *France*, especially that between *Brandenburg* and *Sweden*; and thereby endeavour to draw some dependence of those Two Princes upon him.

himself after the Peace, which he doubted would otherwise fall on *France*: He said besides, That he would think of this Matter within Two or Three Days, and tell me, if not write into *England* what should occur to him upon it before I went to *Nimeguen*. And, that the sooner the Peace of the *North* was now made, the better: That *France* might thereby have no longer a Pretext of keeping the Seven Towns in *Cologne*, *Juliers*, and *Liege*; whereby they are posted so as to awe this Country and *Flanders*, and to be ready for any new Design upon them.

In this Conference, and one before, his Highness desired me to write to your Lordship, and put you in mind of his Money; concerning which you had express'd so great Concernment in your Last to me. His Highness said, He did not doubt but this Sum might be easily advanced upon that Act which provided for it, in case the whole Security were not engaged some other ways, which he hoped Your Lordship has had the Kindness and Justice to prevent.

In the midst of your Lordship's great
affairs, I know very well I ought to
give you as few and as short Troubles
as I can; and therefore shall not
lengthen this beyond the Assurances of
my being ever,

My LORD,

Your, &c.

To

To the Earl of S—

Hague, Feb. 28th. S. N. 1679.

My LORD,

ON Saturday last I received the honour of one from your Lordship of the 11th; and this Morning another of the 14th; both of them bringing me his Majesty's Command for my immediate Return; and the Last, a Letter of Revocation to the States General. I have this Afternoon communicated both to the Prince; who finding me press'd to make so much diligence in my Journey, has made it formally his Desire to me, that I will go away, without taking notice here of my absolute Revocation, or thereupon, any formal Leave of the States, which he says, may be done as soon as I am there, if his Majesty pleases; and about the time my Lord Ambassador Jenkins shall arrive here. His Highness takes this to be a Point so important to his Majesty's Service, and to his own Interests here at this time, which, he says, are the same

came with his Majesty's, that he is sure (as he is pleased to say) the King will give him leave to govern such a Circumstance as this is ; and therefore says, He will take it upon himself ; and his Majesty will know the Reasons when I have the Honour to attend him. I confess, I could see no Prejudice in this to his Majesty, nor to any unless my self, (on the Account of the usual Presents upon a Revocation) I therefore consented to it ; and shall thereupon be ready, I hope, to embarque to morrow or next day, if Wind and Weather suffer me. Though the Prince had not desired this way of parting, I have another Reason would of necessity have engaged me to it ; which is, my being so much indebted here, by not having received my Money since my coming over in *July* last ; that it would have been impossible for me to have carried my Goods and Family away from hence, without attending the necessary Dispatches from the Exchequer, which I doubt, by the Style of both Your Lordship's Letters, pressing me to so much haste in my Journey, would not have passed with his Majesty for a good Excuse of my not coming away.

The Common Occurrences will be transmitted to your Lordship by Mr. *Meredith*, as has been usual : So that after having very heartily given Your Lordship Joy upon your Entrance into an Employment of so great Weight and Consequence to his Majesty's Service, with my True Wishes of all the Satisfaction that can be from it, both to his Majesty and your self, I shall end with the Professions of,

! *My being ever, &c.*

The

The Private LETTER of
the same Date, to the Earl
of S-----d.

I Must leave it to Time to tell you, whether your Letter as Secretary of State, and acquainting me with his Majesty's having sent for me over to enter upon the same Post, were as welcome to me as I am sure it was surprizing; after my Preparations and Thoughts had been turned for a Week together to *Nimeguen*. But I cannot forbear assuring you in the mean time, that nothing could be welcomer than a short one I received with it from My Lord *Sunderland*; by which I found he was pleased with the new Employment, and not unsatisfied with the Prospect of our Affairs. I take your Lordship to be so good and universal a Judge, that I cannot easily believe you should be deceived in what concerns either the Publick or your self; and therefore cannot chuse but raise from it good Presages to both: Otherwise I confess, I see nothing to change my Opinion of publick Affairs, or
my

my Resolutions as to my own part in them ; tho' I find, my Friends have so different Thoughts of both. I wish I may find any thing to undeceive me when I come over. In the mean time, I should be infinitely glad to contribute more than my Wishes towards the Ends you seem to propose your Selves. And if I could think my self capable of doing it ; neither the King nor your Lordship would find a truer Servant. In the mean time, I will only say ; that among all you have, there is none can take more Part in all that concerns your Lordship, nor that can be more unfeignedly than I am,

My LORD,

Your, &c.

N n 2

To

To My Lord Treasurer.

Hague, Febr. 28th. S. N. 1672.

My LORD,

I Received last *Saturday* the Honour of one from your Lordship of the 11th; which I confess, surprized me more than any I ever had from you; coming not only after my Orders and Preparations for *Nimeguen*; but after my Wife had told me from your Lordship, how all that Affair had passed; and after I had written to her, how infinitely sensible I was of the Obligations I had to your Lordship in the whole Course of it; and how perfectly I was satisfied as to my self, with the *Plie* it had taken. Time alone must tell, if either his Majesty or I have Reason to be satisfied with the Change he has since made in that Measure, which will depend upon the Success of it; and of my being of the Use designed in so great a Post, towards those publick Ends that I am confident, your Lordship aims at in it, and which none can answer for. I wish to God I could deserve half the Honour his Majesty does me by his good Opinion; for I ne-

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ver can the Kindness of your Intention,
 (whatever may happen) tho' no Man
 can be more sensible than I am of it. For
 the rest, I shall not trouble your Lordship
 farther with any Discourses upon that Sub-
 ject, being like to have the Honour of
 waiting on you so soon : For I hope, God
 willing, to go aboard the Yatcht to mor-
 row or *Wednesday*, if Wind and Weather
 suffer me ; and with your Lordship's good
 leave, shall make my first Step into the
Cockpit ; where you will then find I am
 sure a

most Humble Servant.

F I N I S.